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THE

LIVES,

&c.

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THE

LIVES

OF

Dr. JOHN DONNE, Sir HENRY WOTTON, Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, AND Dr. ROBERT SANDERSON.

WRITTEN BY IZAAK WALTON.

"These were honoured men in their generations."
Ecclus. xliv. 7.

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INTRODUCTION.

...Royal. 1831

If that great master of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Provost of Eton College, had lived to see the publication of these Sermons, he had presented the world with the Author's life exactly written; and it was pity he did not, for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it: betwixt whom and the Author there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And though their bodies were divided, their affections were not; for that learned Knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave; which he testified by entreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to enquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful. I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content, till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen: but then death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these Sermons were to be printed, and want the Author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable; indignation or grief (indeed I know not which) transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the Author's life, that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bond-man was *, (the grateful wretch had been left alone on the sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master; and was then gathering the scattered pieces of an old broken boat, to make a funeral pile to burn it; which was the custom of the Romans)—"Who art thou, that alone hast the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great?" So who am I, that do thus officiously set the Author's memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to have in it more of wonder than disdain. But wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profess myself artless, should presume with my faint light to shew forth his life, whose very name makes it illustrious! But be this to the disadvantage of the person represented: certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the Author's picture in a natural dress, which ought to beget faith in what is spoken: for he that wants skill to deceive, may safely be trusted.

And if the Author's glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of his officious duty, confident I am, that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory: for, whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness were then eminent; and, I have heard divines say, those virtues that were but sparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice, that when Dr. Donne's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and I dare not now appear without it.

* Plutarch.

THE

LIFE

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE.

[library stamp]

MASTER JOHN DONNE was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas More, sometime Lord Chancellor of England; as also from that worthy and laborious Judge Rastall, who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and in his eleventh year was sent to the University of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him; "That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula;" of whom story says, "That he was rather born, than made wise by study."

There he remained for some years in Hart-Hall, having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time

made him capable, and his learning expressed in public exercises declared him worthy, to receive his first degree in the schools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times, and not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge; where, that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he staid till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intention to study the law; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession; which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction.

His father died before his admission into this society, and, being a merchant, left him his portion in money. (It was 3000*l.*) His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematics, and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But with these arts they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish Church; of which those tutors professed, though secretly, themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his preface to his Pseudo-Martyr, a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no religion, that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as Schism, if an adherence to some visible Church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore, (though his youth and health promised him a long life) to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and began seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the Roman Church. And as God's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him, (they be his own words *) so he calls the same Holy Spirit to witness this protestation; that in that disquisition and search he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself, and by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties; and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an enquirer; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty, and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience: he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age did shew the

* In his Preface to Pseudo-Martyr.

then Dean of Gloucester (whose name my memory hath now lost) all the Cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him, at his death, as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following he resolved to travel; and the Earl of Essex going first the Cales, and after the Island voyages, the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments.

But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness, which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the Lord Elsemore, then Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief secretary; supposing and intending it to be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the state; for which his Lordship did often protest he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordship in this time, of Master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his servant, as to forget he was his friend; and, to testify it, did always use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table,

to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as, with her approbation, increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Elsemore, and daughter to Sir George More, then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the county of Surry; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves: and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments, to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father; a passion, that carries us to commit errors with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together, (I forbear to tell the manner how) and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be, necessary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so, and that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous when it

was known, it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George, (doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry, Earl of Northumberland: but it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him, that, as though his passion of anger and inconsideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister, the Lady Elsemore, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordship. This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered, that errors might be over punished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations, might clear some scruples; yet he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not, at Mr. Donne's dismission, give him such a commendation as the great Emperor Charles the Fifth did of his secretary Eraso, when he presented him to his son and successor, Philip the Second, saying, "That in his Eraso he gave to him a greater gift than all his estate, and all the kingdoms which he then resigned to him:" yet the Lord Chancellor said, "He parted with a friend, and such a secretary as was fitter to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismission from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it: and after the subscription of his name, writ,

John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done;

And God knows it proved too true: for this bitter physic of Mr. Donne's dismission was not strong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler; for he

was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge, that married him, namely, Samuel Brook (who was after Doctor in Divinity, and Master of Trinity College) and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook, sometime Mr. Donne's chamber-fellow in Lincoln's Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy; and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him; for his wife was (to her extreme sorrow) detained from him; and though with Jacob he endured not an hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law; which proved troublesome and sadly chargeable to him, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men; and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour, (which, when it would entice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art;) these and time had so dispassionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son; and this at last melted him into so much remorse, (for love and anger are so like agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily re-kindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat,) that he

laboured his son's restoration to his place; using to that end both his own and his sister's power to her lord; but with no success; for his answer was, "That though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and re-admit servants at the request of passionate petitioners."

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's re-admission was by all means to be kept secret:—(for men do more naturally reluct for errors, than submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment.)—But, however, it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled, as to wish their happiness, and not to deny them his paternal blessing, but yet refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience: he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated; both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive, courtesies: these and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman, Sir Francis Wolly, of Pirford in Surry, who intreated them to a cohabitation with him; where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him, for some years; and as their charge increased (she had yearly a child), so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that wealth hath seldom been the portion, and never the mark to discover good people; but that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it (he only knows

why) to many, whose minds he hath enriched with the greater blessings of knowledge and virtue, as the fairer testimonies of his love to mankind: and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments; whose necessary and daily expences were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow estate. Which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares; the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind; a disposition, that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to him, who takes a pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times * he did bless with many such; some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse; namely, Dr. Morton, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham; one that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful heart at the age of 94 years (and is yet living); one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart, as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now (be it spoken with sorrow) reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining; and still shews the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if there were an age in which to-morrow were to care for itself. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation.—He sent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the

* Anno 1608.

next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose: "Mr. Donne, the occasion of sending for you is to propose to you what I have often revolved in my own thought since I last saw you: which nevertheless I will not declare but upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in fasting and prayer; and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, then return to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne; for it is the effect of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for your's to me."

This request being granted, the Doctor expressed himself thus:

"Mr. Donne, I know your education and abilities; I know your expectation of a state-employment; and I know your fitness for it; and I know too the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promises: and let me tell you, that my love, begot by our long friendship and your merits, hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necessities; which I know to be such as your generous spirit could not bear, if it were not supported by a pious patience. You know I have formerly persuaded you to wave your court-hopes, and enter into holy orders; which I now again persuade you to embrace, with this reason added to my former request: the King hath yesterday made me Dean of Gloucester, and I am also possessed of a benefice, the profits of which are equal to those of my Deanery. I will think my Deanery enough for my maintenance, (who am and resolve to die a single man) and will quit my benefice, and estate you in it, (which the Patron is willing I shall do) if God shall incline your heart to embrace this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no man's education or parts make him too good for this employment, *which is to be*

an ambassador for the God of glory, that God, who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind. Make me no present answer; but remember your promise, and return to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict: but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you I have been faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude; but that it cannot do; and more I cannot return you; and I do that with an heart full of humility and thanks, though I may not accept of your offer: but, Sir, my refusal is not for that I think myself too good for that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good enough: nor for that my education and learning, though not eminent, may not, being assisted with God's grace and humility, render me in some measure fit for it: but I dare make so dear a friend as you are my confessor: some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him by penitential resolutions against them, and by the assistance of his grace banished them my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man, as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from a dishonour. And besides, whereas it is determined by the best of Casuists, that *God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive to embrace that calling*; and though each man may propose to himself both together; yet the first may not be put last without a violation of conscience, which he that

searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my own conscience, whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give myself nor you an answer. You know, Sir, who says, *Happy is that man whose conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which he does.* To these I might add other reasons that dissuade me: but I crave your favour that I may forbear to express them, and thankfully decline your offer."

This was his present resolution: but the heart of man is not in his own keeping; and he was destined to this sacred service by an higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance: of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death: a little before which time, Sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir George conditioning by bond to pay to Mr. Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with Sir Francis, he studied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Micham, (near to Croydon in Surry) a place noted for good air and choice company: there his wife and children remained; and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to White-Hall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the nobility and

others of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest consideration, and with some rewards for his better subsistence.

Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London; but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Micham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God knows, needed it: and that you may the better now judge of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters.

" —— And the reason why I did not send an answer to your last week's letter was, because it then found me under too great a sadness; and at present it is thus with me. There is not one person, but myself, well of my family: I have already lost half a child, and with that mischance of hers, my wife is fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extremely, but that the sickness of all her other children stupifies her: of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope: and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that: but I flatter myself with this hope, that I am dying too; for I cannot waste faster than by such griefs. As for,——

" From my hospital at Micham,

Aug. 10. " John Donne."

Thus he did bemoan himself: and thus in other letters.

"—— For we hardly discover a sin, when it is but an omission of some good, and no accusing act: with this or the former, I have often suspected myself to be overtaken; which is, with an over-earnest desire of the next life. And though I know it is not merely a weariness of this, because I had the same desire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than I now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles have increased it. It is now spring, and all the pleasures of it displease me; every other tree blossoms, and I wither: I grow older, and not better; my strength diminisheth, and my load grows heavier; and yet I would fain be or do something; but that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this time of my sadness; for to choose is to do; but to be no part of any body is as to be nothing: and so I am, and shall so judge myself, unless I could be so incorporated into a part of the world, as by business to contribute some sustentation to the whole. This I made account; I began early, when I understood the study of our laws; but was diverted by leaving that, and embracing the worst voluptuousness, *an hydroptique immoderate desire of human learning and languages:* beautiful ornaments indeed to men of great fortunes; but mine was grown so low as to need an occupation; which I thought I entered well into, when I subjected myself to such a service as I thought might exercise my poor abilities; and there I stumbled, and fell too; and now I am become so little, or such a nothing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my own letters.—Sir, I fear my present discontent, does not proceed from a good root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, Sir, though my fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a sickness or a disease of the world than any part of it, and therefore neither love it, nor life; yet I would gladly live to become some such thing as you should not repent loving me. Sir, your own

soul cannot be more zealous for your good, than I am; and God, who loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it. You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my pain hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it so, that my eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my prayers with mine own weary soul, and commend myself to yours. I doubt not but next week will bring you good news, for I have either mending or dying on my side: but if I do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in this, that my blessed Saviour in exercising his justice upon my too worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reserves all his mercy for that which most needs it, my soul; which is, I doubt, too like a porter, that is very often near the gate, and yet goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that my loathness to give over writing now seems to myself a sign that I shall write no more.

"Your poor friend, and
"God's poor patient,
Sept. 7. "JOHN DONNE."

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind; and thus it continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained constantly at Micham; and to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church, and especially those of supremacy and allegiance: and to that place and such studies he could willingly have wedded himself during his life; but the earnest persuasion of friends became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry, a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drury-lane, and not only rent free, but was also

a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in all their joy and sorrows.

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's house, the Lord Hay was by King James sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French King, Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on a sudden resolution to accompany him to the French court, and to be present at his audience there. And Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution to subject Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, *Her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence;* and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty, when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him; and told his wife so; who did therefore with an unwilling willingness give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months; for about that time they determined their return. Within a few days after this resolve, the Ambassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London, and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris. Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone in that room, in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left, so he found, Mr. Donne alone: but in such an ecstasy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him; insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short

time of his absence. To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer: but, after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: this I have seen since I saw you." To which Sir Robert replied, "Sure, sir, you have slept since I saw you; and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake." To which Mr. Donne's reply was, "I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I have not slept since I saw you: and I am as sure, that at her second appearing she stopped, and looked me in the face, and vanished."—Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne's opinion the next day; for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true.—It is truly said, that desire and doubt have no rest; and it proved so with Sir Robert; for he immediately sent a servant to Drewry-house, with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne were alive; and, if alive, in what condition she was as to her health.—The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed; and that, after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour, that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder; and it well may, for most of our world are at present possessed with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased. And though it is most certain, that two lutes being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon, the other,

that is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will (like an echo to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony in answer to the same tune; yet many will not believe there is any such thing as a sympathy of souls: and I am well pleased, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion. But if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this story a liberty to believe that it may be true, then I wish him to consider, many wise men have believed that the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin and Monica his mother had visions in order to his conversion. And though these and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of human story, yet the incredible reader may find in the sacred story *, that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death (whether really or not, I undertake not to determine). And Bildad, in the Book of Job, says these words †; "A spirit passed before my face; the hair of my head stood up: fear and trembling came upon me, and made all my bones to shake." Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be considered by the incredulous reader; to whom I will also commend this following consideration: that there be many pious and learned men, that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a particular guardian angel, to be his constant monitor, and to attend him in all his dangers, both of body and soul. And the opinion that every man hath his particular angel may gain some authority, by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance out of prison ‡, not by many, but by one angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the reader's considering that when Peter after his enlargement knocked at the door of Mary the mother of John, and Rode the maid-servant, being surprized with joy that Peter was there, did not let

* 1 Sam. xxviii. † Job iv. ‡ Acts xii.

him in, but ran in haste, and told the Disciples (who were then and there met together) that Peter was at the door; and they, not believing it, said she was mad; yet when she again affirmed it, though they then believed it not, yet they concluded, and said, *It is his angel.*

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief: but I forbear, lest I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me; and yet I think myself bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me (now long since) by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul, than any person then living: and I think he told me the truth; for it was told with such circumstances, and such asseveration, that (to say nothing of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's farther trouble, as to the relation, and what concerns it; and will conclude mine with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time he then parted from her. And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry, say, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

A VALEDICTION.

FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls to go,
Whilst some of their sad friends do say,
The breath goes now, and some say no:

So let us melt, and make no noise;
No wind-sighs or tear-floods us move;
'Twere profanation of our joys,
To tell the laity our love.

Movings of th' earth cause harms and fears;
Men reckon what they did or meant:
But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers' love
(Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
Absence; because that doth remove
Those things that elemented it.

But we, by a soul so much refin'd,
That our souls know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If we be two? we are two so
As stiff twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fixt foot, makes no show
To move, but does if th' other do.

And though thine in the centre sit,
Yet, when my other far does roam,
Thine leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou must be to me, who must,
Like th' other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And me to end where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader that both before Mr. Donne's going into

France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility, and others that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the King for some secular employment for him. The King had formerly both known and put a value upon his company, and had also given him some hopes of a state-employment; being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes or debates of religion betwixt his Majesty and those divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times; particularly the Dean of the chapel, who then was Bishop Montague (the publisher of the learned and eloquent works of his Majesty) and the most reverend Doctor Andrews, the late learned Bishop of Winchester, who was then the King's Almoner.

About this time there grew many disputes, that concerned the oath of supremacy and allegiance, in which the King had appeared, and engaged himself by his public writings now extant: and his Majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his Majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them; and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger, and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and within six weeks brought them to him under his own hand writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of "Pseudo-Martyr," printed anno 1610.

When the King had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry; to which at that time he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it (such was

his mistaken modesty) to be too weighty for his abilities: and though his Majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth meditated with his Majesty for some secular employment for him, (to which his education had adapted him) and particularly the Earl of Somerset, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobald's with the King, where one of the clerks of the council died that night, the Earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said, "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are clerk of the council. Doubt not my doing this, for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me." But the King gave a positive denial to all requests, and, having a discerning spirit, replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth *, "the King descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation, of him to enter into sacred orders:" which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of textual Divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the Clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long suffering; those only were then judged worthy the ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an

* In his Book of Devotions.

humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of humility, and labour, and care, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity; and such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life and competency of learning required in such as enter into sacred orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, "Lord, who is sufficient for these things?" and with meek Moses, "Lord, who am I?" And sure if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the Angel did with Jacob, *and marked him*; marked him for his own; marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed Spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, "Who am I?" so now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him, in the King's and others solicitations of him, he came to ask King David's thankful question, "Lord, who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?" so mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; so merciful to me, as to move the learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at the altar; so merciful to me, as at last to move my heart to embrace this holy motion. Thy motions I will and do embrace: and I now say with the blessed Virgin, "Be it with thy servant as seemeth best in thy sight:" and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy Gospel.

Such strifes as these St. Austin had, when St. Ambrose endeavoured his conversion to Christianity; with which he confesseth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne's abilities, (for he had been chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne's being his Lordship's secretary;) that reverend man did receive the news with much gladness; and after some expressions of joy, and a persuasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed to ordain him first deacon, and then priest not long after.

Now the English Church had gained a second St. Austin, for I think none was so like him before his conversion; none so like St. Ambrose after it: and if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentered in Divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others; in preaching the glad tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence: and now such a change was wrought in him, that he could say with David, "O how amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of Hosts!" Now he declared openly, that "when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual blessing. And that "he was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than he could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal employments."

Presently after he entered into his holy profession,

the King sent for him, and made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality was such, as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modesty in this employment was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend to preach privately in some village, not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did, till his Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and though much was expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations; preaching the word so, as shewed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it, and a virtue so as to make it beloved even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think (such indeed as have not heard him) that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching. If this meets with any such, let me entreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say; it being attested by a gentleman of worth, (Mr. Chidley, a frequent hearer of his sermons) in part of a funeral elegy writ by him on Dr. Donne; and is a known truth, though it be in verse.

——Each altar had its fire——
He kept his love, but not his object; wit
He did not banish, but transplanted it;
Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
To piety, which it doth best become.
For say, had ever pleasure such a dress?
Have you seen crimes so shap'd, or loveliness
Such as his lips did clothe religion in?
Had not reproof a beauty passing sin?
Corrupted Nature sorrow'd that she stood
So near the danger of becoming good.
And when he preach'd, she wish'd her ears exempt
From Piety, that had such pow'r to tempt.
How did his sacred flattery beguile
Men to amend?——

More of this, and more witnesses, might be brought; but I forbear and return.

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred orders, and was made the King's chaplain, his Majesty then going his progress, was entreated to receive an entertainment in the University of Cambridge: and Mr. Donne attending his Majesty at that time, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made Doctor in Divinity: Doctor Harsnett (after Archbishop of York) was then Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the "Pseudo-Martyr," required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the University, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness, that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs.

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him: but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and edu-

tion in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life: but an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died, leaving him a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance, never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became *crucified to the world*, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures, that are daily acted on that restless stage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being passions may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes, and the companion of his youth; her, with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears, as common people are not capable of; not hard to think but that she being now removed by death, a commeasurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done; and so indeed it did; for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness; now grief took so full a possession of his heart, as to leave no place for joy; if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where, like a *pelican in the wilderness*, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction: "Oh that I might have the desire of my heart! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for!" For then, *as the grave is become*

her house, so I would hasten to make it mine also; *that we two might there make our beds together in the dark*. Thus, as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion; so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows: thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued till a consideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's "Wo is me, if I preach not the Gospel," dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried, (in St. Clement's Church, near Temple Bar, London,) and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremy's Lamentation: "Lo, I am the Man that have seen affliction."

And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness; and so they left the congregation; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave Benchers of Lincoln's Inn (who were once the companions and friends of his youth) to accept of their lecture, which, by reason of Dr. Gataker's removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved, and where he had been a Saul, (though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular

youth to neglect the visible practice of it,) there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a *shining light* among his old friends; now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it; now he might say, as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, "Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, and walk as ye have me for an example;" not the example of a busy-body, but of a contemplative, a harmless, an humble, and an holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble society was expressed to him many ways; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him, with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added; indeed so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits: and in this love-strife of desert and liberality they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the Palsgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation.

King James, whose motto (*Beati pacifici*) did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose, the discords of that discomposed state; and, amongst other his endeavours, did then send the Lord Hay, Earl of Doncaster, his ambassador to those unsettled Princes; and, by a special command from his Majesty, Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the Princes of the Union; for which the Earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: and his friends at Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared

that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wife's death, would, as Jacob said, *make his days few,* and respecting his bodily health, *evil* too; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him, with many reluctations; for though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, "Behold, you, to whom I have preached the kingdom of God, shall from henceforth see my face no more;" yet he, believing himself to be in a consumption, questioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best; for this employment (to say nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured Mistress the Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation; and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him: who having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated, and his health improved; and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey was made Bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the King sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his Majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after his pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and though you sit not down

with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of St. Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel; suffering, as holy David once vowed, "his eyes and temples to take no rest, till he had first beautified the house of God."

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George More, (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it, and said (as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive) "*It is enough:* You have been kind to me and mine: I know your present condition is such as not to abound, and I hope mine is or will be such as not to need it. I will therefore receive no more from you upon that contract;" and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White, the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend Richard Earl of Dorset, then the patron, and confirmed by his brother the late deceased Edward, both of them men of much honour.

By these, and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous, as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor to the Convo-

cation, and about that time was appointed by his Majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. All which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the King's displeasure, and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his Majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the King's inclining to Popery, and a dislike of his government; and particularly for the King's then turning the evening lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief, and Commandments. His majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court, (I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion) and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise, unless they be busy about what they understand not, and especially about religion.

The King received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt; but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said, "he was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion." When the King had said this, Mr. Donne kneeled down, and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful, and free from all collusion, and therefore "desired that he might not rise, till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his Majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion."

At which the King raised him from his knees with his own hands, and "protested he believed him; and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly." And, having thus dismissed him, he called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, "My Doctor is an honest man; and, my Lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me; and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine."

He was made Dean in the fiftieth year of his age; and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption: but God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, "preserved his spirit," and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect, as when that sickness first seized his body; but it continued long, and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend, Dr. Henry King, (then chief Residentiary of that church, and late Bishop of Chichester) a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily; and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose:

"Mr. Dean, I am by your favour no stranger to your temporal estate, and you are no stranger to the offer lately made us, for the renewing a lease of the best prebend's corps belonging to our church; and you know it was denied, for that our tenant being very rich, offered to fine at so low a rate as held not proportion with his advantages: but I will either raise him to an higher sum, or procure that the other residentiaries shall join to accept of what was offered: one of these I can and will by your favour do without delay, and without any trouble either to your body or mind. I beseech you to accept of my

offer, for I know it will be a considerable addition to your present estate, which I know needs it."

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply:

"My most dear friend, I most humbly thank you for your many favours, and this in particular; but in my present condition I shall not accept of your proposal; for doubtless there is such a sin as sacrilege; if there were not, it could not have a name in Scripture: and the primitive clergy were watchful against all appearances of that evil; and indeed then all Christians looked upon it with horror and detestation, judging it to be even an *open defiance of the power and providence of Almighty God, and a sad presage of a declining religion.* But instead of such Christians, who had selected times set apart to fast and pray to God, for a pious clergy, which they then did obey, our times abound with men that are busy and litigious about trifles and church-ceremonies, and yet so far from scrupling sacrilege, that they make not so much as a query what it is: but I thank God I have; and dare not now upon my sick bed, when Almighty God hath made me useless to the service of the church, make any advantages out of it. But if he shall again restore me to such a degree of health, as again to serve at his altar, I shall then gladly take the reward which the bountiful benefactors of this church have designed me; for God knows my children and relations will need it: in which number my mother (whose credulity and charity has contracted a very plentiful to a very narrow estate) must not be forgotten. But, Dr. King, if I recover not, that little worldly estate that I shall leave behind me (that very little, when divided into eight parts) must, if you deny me not so charitable a favour, fall into your hands, as my most faithful friend and executor; of whose care and justice I make no more doubt, than of God's blessing on that which I have conscientiously col-

lected for them; but it shall not be augmented on my sick-bed; and this I declare to be my unalterable resolution."

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days his distempers abated; and as his strength increased, so did his thankfulness to Almighty God, testified in his most excellent Book of Devotions, which he published at his recovery; in which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul paraphrased and made public; a book, that may not unfitly be called a *Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstasies,* occasioned and appliable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick bed; herein imitating the holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say, his recovery was supernatural: but that God that then restored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life: and then, in August 1630, being with his eldest daughter Mrs. Harvey, at Abury Hatch, in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which with the help of his constant infirmity (vapours from the spleen) hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, "He dies daily;" and he might say with Job, "My welfare passeth away as a cloud, the days of my affliction have taken hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me."

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only weakening, but wearying him so much, that my desire is, he may now take some rest; and that before I speak of his death, thou wilt not think it an

impertinent digression to look back with me upon some observations of his life, which, whilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life—an error, which, though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was very far from justifying it; and though his wife's competent years, and other reasons, might be justly urged to moderate severe censures, yet he would occasionally condemn himself for it; and doubtless it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not blessed them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly than the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was so happy, as if Nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered (most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age) it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both Nature and all the Arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely (God knows too loosely) scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short-lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals: but, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry, as to forsake that; no, not in his declining age; witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious composures: yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul, in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it:

AN HYMN

TO GOD THE FATHER.

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still, though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallow'd in a score?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;
But swear by thyself, that at my death thy Son
Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's Church, in his own hearing; especially at the evening service; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, "The words of this hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possessed my soul in my sickness, when I composed it. And, O the power of church-music! that harmony added to this hymn has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe that I always return from paying this public duty of prayer and praise to God, with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the Church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly that the enemies of Christianity had broke in upon them, and profaned and ruined their sanctuaries, and because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands, and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God, where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried. "But now, O Lord, how is that place become desolate!"—Anno 1656.

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the body of Christ extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the Cross; his varying no otherwise than to affix him not to a cross, but to an anchor (the emblem of hope); this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in Helitropian stones, and set in gold; and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals, or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodier, and Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number; nor could the Lady Magdalen Herbert, the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him: but Sir Henry Wootton, and Dr. Hall, the then late deceased Bishop of Norwich, were; and so were Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester (lately deceased); men, in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and

Christian humility, that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not: I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations:" a book, in which, by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and Heaven: and may, by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred endearments; of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT;

SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A shief of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of our poor family.

Qui prius assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domus
Adscitus domui domini.——

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
The cross my seal in baptism spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors, bear as thou should'st do
Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
Is Christ, who there is crucified for us.
Yet with this I may my first serpents hold;
(God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)
The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be;
My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
He is my death; but on the cross my cure.
Crucify nature then; and then implore
All grace from him, crucified there before.
When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
Under that little seal great gifts I send,
Both works and pray'rs, pawns and fruits of a friend.
O may that saint that rides on our great seal,
To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS.

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quod Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet
Tuive Christum———

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
But only whilst thou speak'st—this anchor will:
Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
This certain anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth both unto thee
Do owe the symbol of their certainty.

Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that, besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the Quire of St. Paul's Church, he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties; and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title:

AN HYMN TO GOD MY GOD.

IN MY SICKNESS, MARCH 23, 1630.

Since I am coming to that holy room,
Where with thy quire of saints for evermore
I shall be made thy music, as I come
I tune my instrument here at the door,
And, what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
Cosmographers; and I their map, who lye
Flat on this bed——————
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

So, in this purple wrapt, receive me, Lord!
By these his thorns give me his other crown:
And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
Be this my text, my sermon to mine own.
"That he may raise, therefore the Lord throws down."

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations, let him know, that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius to be most refined, when not many days before his death "he charged it to present his God each morning and evening with a new

and spiritual song;" justified by the example of King David and the good King Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words; "The Lord was ready to save; therefore I will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of my life in the temple of my God."

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, that "he gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness."

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common business t at drew him out of his chamber till past ten: all which time was employed in study; though he took great liberty after it. And if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours; some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written; for he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand: he left also six score of his sermons, all written with his own hand; also an exact and laborious treatise concerning self-murder, called *Biathanatos;* wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently sur-

veyed, and judiciously censured: a treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the civil and canon law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study, but all businesses that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; and divers other businesses of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him; making his will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprized by a sudden apprehension of death; but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father, by making his children's portions equal; and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for methinks they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock, which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor, Dr. King, (late Bishop of Chichester) that model of gold of the Synod of Dort, with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo and Fulgentio, men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend Dr. Brook, (that married him) Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the

blessed Virgin and Joseph.—To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in the deanery) he gave a picture called the "Skeleton."—To the succeeding Dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the Earls of Dorset and Carlisle he gave several pictures; and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection, than to make any addition to their estates. But unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who by his constant and long continued bounty might entitle themselves to be his alms-people: for all these he made provision, and so largely, as, having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience: but I will beg his favour, to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, Amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding, (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following:

First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution, which the same Spirit hath established in me, to live and die in the religion now professed in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried (in the most private manner that may be)

in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.——And this my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ) and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors) written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed December 13, 1630.

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous; he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and redeemed many from prison, that lay for their fees or small debts; he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave an hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carelessness became decayed in his estate; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman saying, "He wanted not;"—for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty, rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it; so there be others, to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind; which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was; "I know you want not what will sustain nature; for a little will

do that: but my desire is, that you, who in the days of your plenty have cheered and raised the hearts of so many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering of your own;" and upon these terms it was received. He was an happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred, (which he never undertook faintly; for such undertakings have usually faint effects) and they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was even to her death a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucked in the religion of the Roman Church with her mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witnesses with him) computed first his revenue, then what was given to the poor, and other pious uses; and lastly, what rested for him and his; and having done that, he then blessed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer; which, for that they discover a more than common devotion, the reader shall partake some of them in his own words:

"So all is that remains this year——

"Deo Opt. Max. benigno
Largitori, a me, et ab iis
Quibus hæc a me reservantur,
Gloria et gratia in æternum.
Amen."

"So that this year God hath blessed me and mine with——

"Multiplicatæ sunt super
Nos misericordiæ tuæ
Domine.————

"Da Domine, ut quæ ex immensa
Bonitate tua nobis elargiri
Dignatus sis, in quorumcunque
Manus devenerint, in tuam
Semper cedant gloriam.
Amen."

"In fine horum sex annorum manet——

"Quid habeo quod non accepi a Domino?
Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus est
Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum usu; ut
Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,
Nec loci in quo me posuit dignitati, nec
Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni
Curriculo mihi conscius sum me defuisse;
Ita et liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,
Supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant,
Et beneficum authorem recognoscant.
Amen."

But I return from my long digression.——We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place; and having never for almost twenty years omitted his personal attendance on his Majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him, nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent Preachers, and there being then (in Jan. 1630,) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead; that report gave him occasion to write the following letter to a dear friend:

"Sir, this advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent fevers, that I am so much the oftener at the gates of heaven; and this advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftener at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out your happiness; and I doubt not, among his other blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man would almost be content to die, if there were no other benefit in death, to hear of so much sorrow, and so much good testimony from good men, as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the report of my death: yet I perceive it went not through all; for one writ to me that some (and he said of my friends) conceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, and, God knows, an ill-grounded interpretation; for I have always been sorrier when I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in the pulpit; if not that, yet that I might take my death in the pulpit; that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after Candlemas; about which time will fall my Lent sermon at court, except my Lord Chamberlain believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the roll: but as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write, than you to read; yet I would not willingly oppress you with too much letter. God so bless you and your son, as I wish to

"Your poor friend,

"And Servant in Christ Jesus,

"J. DONNE."

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in

Lent: he had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones) doubted his strength to perform that task, and did therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring him however it was like to shorten his life: but he passionately denied their requests, saying, "he would not doubt that that God, who in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment; professing an holy ambition to perform that sacred work." And when, to the amazement of some beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body, and a dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel (chap. xxxvii. 3.) "Do these bones live? or, can that soul organize that tongue, to speak so long time as the sand in that glass will move towards it centre, and measure out an hour of this dying man's unspent life? Doubtless it cannot." And yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying; the text being, "To God the Lord belong the issues from death." Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne *had preached his own funeral sermon.*

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house; out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, "he was carried by devout men to his grave."

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent as indisposed him to business or to talk, a friend, that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked him, "Why are you sad?" To whom he replied, with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquility of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world; and said,

"I am not sad; but most of the night past I have entertained myself with many thoughts of several friends, that have left me here, *and are gone to that place from which they shall not return*; and that within a few days *I also shall go hence, and be no more seen.* And my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restless to me. But at this present time I was in a serious contemplation of the providence and goodness of God to me; to me, *who am less than the least of his mercies:* and looking back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment; and that it was his will I should never settle nor thrive till I entered into the ministry; in which I have now lived almost twenty years (I hope to his glory), and by which I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite most of those friends which shewed me kindness when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was; and (as it hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude) I thank God most of them have stood in need of my requital. I have lived to be useful and comfortable to my good father-in-law, Sir George More, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise with many temporal crosses; I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God, after a plentiful fortune in her younger days, to bring to great decay in her very old age. I have quieted the consciences of many, that have groaned under the burthen of

a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my youth; but I am to be judged by a merciful God, *who is not willing to see what I have done amiss.* And though of myself I have nothing to present to him but sins and misery, yet I know he looks not upon me now as I am of myself, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me even at this present time some testimonies by his Holy Spirit, that I am of the number of his elect: *I am therefore full of inexpressible joy, and shall die in peace.*"

I must here look so far back, as to tell the reader that at his first return out of Essex, to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox (a man of great worth) came to him to consult his health; and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told him, "That by cordials, and drinking milk twenty days together, there was a probability of his restoration to health;" but he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days; at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, "He had drunk it more to satisfy him, than to recover his health; and that he would not drink it ten days longer, upon the best moral assurance of having twenty years added to his life; for he loved it not; and was so far from fearing death, which to others is the King of Terrors, that he longed for the day of his dissolution."

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die with us; and many think it should do so; and we

want not sacred examples to justify the desire of having our memory to outlive our lives: which I mention, because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how, or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board, of the just height of his body. These being got, then without delay a choice painter was got to be in readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.——Several charcoal fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and having put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually fitted, to be shrowded and put into their coffin, or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might shew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned toward the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus. In this posture he was drawn at his just height; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his dearest friend and executor Dr. Henry King, then chief Residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble, as it now stands in that church; and by Dr. Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as an epitaph:——

JOHANNES DONNE,
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS
TENERRIMIS FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER
INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
ANNO SUI JESU MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INDUTUS
XXVII. NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII MDCXXXI.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now, having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave, my desire is, he may rest, till I have told my reader that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and at several ages, and in several postures; and I now mention this, because I have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand, at his age of eighteen, with his sword and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gaieties of that age; and his motto then was——

"How much shall I be chang'd,
Before I am chang'd!"

And if that young, and his now dying picture were at this time set together, every beholder might say, "Lord! how much is Dr. Donne already changed, before he is changed!" And the view of them might give my reader occasion to ask himself with some amazement, "Lord! how much may I also, that am now in health, be changed before I

am changed; before this vile, this changeable body shall put off mortality!" and therefore to prepare for it.——But this is not writ so much for my reader's memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; especially of his mind, from a vertiginous giddiness; and would as often say, "His great and most blessed change was from a temporal to a spiritual employment;" in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost; and the beginning of it to be, from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday after the drawing this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study; and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber, and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives; and then dismissed them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone, that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next; for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did; but, as Job, so he "waited for the appointed day of his dissolution."

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of no longer time; for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness (in his Book of Devotions written then) "He was that minute ready to deliver his soul into his hands, if that minute God would determine his dissolution." In that sickness

he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever; and his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident that he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change; and in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away, and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beatifical vision, he said, "I were miserable if I might not die;" and after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him, not to serve another master (for who speaks like him), but died before him; for that it was then become useless to him, that now conversed with God on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, *only by thoughts and looks.* Being speechless, and seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it, he did, as St. Stephen, "look steadfastly into it, till he saw the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God his Father;" and being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture, as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus *variable*, thus *virtuous* was the life: thus *excellent*, thus *exemplary* was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church which he had appointed for that use some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God (who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place): but he was not buried pri-

vately, though he desired it; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did shew it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired; and, as Alexander the Great did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers; which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days, not ceasing, till the stones, that were taken up in that church, to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest), were again by the mason's art so levelled and firmed as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial, some unknown friend, some one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave:——

> " Reader! I am to let thee know,
> Donne's body only lies below;
> For, could the grave his soul comprise,
> Earth would be richer than the skies."

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes; for as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that which God accounts himself a debtor; persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks sent to his two faithful friends and executors (Dr. King and Dr. Montfort), towards the making of his monument. It was not for many

years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend, as marble can express; a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend Sir Henry Wotton hath expressed himself,) "It seems to breathe faintly, and posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial miracle."

He was of stature moderately tall; of a straight and equally proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His melting eye shewed that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entered into his sacred calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of heaven; and would often say in a kind of sacred ecstasy, "Blessed be God that he is God, only and divinely like himself."

He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of

knowledge, with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body; that body, which once was a temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust:—But I shall see it re-animated.

Feb. 15, 1639. J. W.

AN EPITAPH

WRITTEN BY

DOCTOR CORBET, LATE BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON HIS FRIEND, DOCTOR DONNE.

He that would write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, must first begin to be
Such as thou wert; for none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath liv'd so.
He must have wit to spare, and to hurl down,
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He must have learning plenty; both the laws,
Civil and common, to judge any cause.
Divinity great store above the rest,
Not of the last edition, but the best.
He must have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to use, or else he wants thy parts.
He must have friends the highest, able to do,
Such as Mæcenas and Augustus too.
He must have such a sickness, such a death,
Or else his vain descriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee,
Should first be dead; let it alone for me.

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY EVER DESIRED DOCTOR DONNE.

AN ELEGY

BY H. KING, LATE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

To have liv'd eminent in a degree
Beyond our loftiest thoughts, that is like thee;
Or t' have had too much merit is not safe,
For such excesses find no epitaph.

At common graves we have poetic eyes,
Can melt themselves in easy elegies;
Each quill can drop his tributary verse,
And pin it, like the hatchments, to the hearse;
But at thine, poem or inscription
(Rich soul of wit and language) we have none.
Indeed a silence does that tomb befit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd Invention justly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there:
Late her great patron, whose prerogative
Maintain'd and cloth'd her so, as none alive
Must now presume to keep her at thy rate,
Tho' he the Indies for her dower estate.
Or else that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.
Whoever writes of thee, and in a style
Unworthy such a theme, does but revile
Thy precious dust, and wakes a learned spirit,
Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit:
For all a low-pitch'd fancy can devise
Will prove at best but hallow'd injuries.

Thou like the dying swan didst lately sing,
Thy mournful dirge in audience of the King;
When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath
Presented so to life that piece of death,
That it was fear'd and prophesy'd by all
Thou thither cam'st to preach thy funeral.
Oh, hadst thou in an elegiac knell
Rung out unto the world thine own farewell,
And in thy high victorious numbers beat
The solemn measures of thy griev'd retreat,
Thou might'st the poet's service now have mist,
As well as then thou didst prevent the priest;
And never to the world beholden be,
So much as for an epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office; nor is 't fit
Thou, who didst lend our age such sums of wit,
Should'st now reborrow from her bankrupt mine
That ore to bury thee which first was thine:
Rather still leave us in thy debt, and know,
Exalted soul, more glory 'tis to owe
Thy memory what we can never pay,
Than with embased coin those rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thyself, nor blame
Our drooping loves, that thus to thine own frame
Leave thee executor, since but thine own
No pen could do thee justice, nor bays crown
Thy vast deserts; save that we nothing can
Depute to be thy ashes' guardian.

So Jewellers no art or metal trust
To form the diamond, but the diamond's dust.

H. K.

AN ELEGY ON DR. DONNE.

Our Donne is dead! and we may sighing say,
We had that man, where language chose to stay,
And shew her utmost power. I would not praise
That, and his great wit, which in our vain days
Make others proud, but as these serv'd to unlock
That cabinet his mind, where such a stock
Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament
Our just and general cause of discontent.

And I rejoice I am not so severe,
But as I write a line, to weep a tear
For his decease; such sad extremities
Can make such men as I write elegies.

And wonder not; for when so great a loss
Falls on a nation, and they slight the cross,
God hath rais'd prophets to awaken them
From their dull lethargy; witness my pen,
Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it must
Freely and boldly, for the cause is just.

Dull age! oh, I would spare thee, but thou 'rt worse:
Thou art not only dull, but hast a curse
Of black ingratitude; if not, couldst thou
Part with this matchless man, and make no vow
For thee and thine successively to pay
Some sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth scatter poetry, wherein
Lay love's philosophy? was every sin
Pictur'd in his sharp satires, made so foul,
That some have fear'd sin's shapes, and kept their soul
Safer by reading verse; Did he give days,
Past marble monuments, to those whose praise
He would perpetuate? Did he (I fear
Envy will doubt) these at his twentieth year?

But, more matur'd, did his rich soul conceive,
And in harmonious holy numbers weave
A crown of sacred sonnets *, fit t' adorn
A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
On that blest head of Mary Magdalen,
After she wip'd Christ's feet, but not till then;
Did he (fit for such penitents as she
And he to use) leave us a Letanie,
Which all devout men love, and doubtless shall,
As times grow better, grow more classical?
Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to those great grave Prudentius writ?
Spake he all languages? Knew he all laws?
The grounds and use of physic; but, because
'Twas mercenary, wav'd it? went to see
That happy place of Christ's nativity?
Did he return and preach him? preach him so,
As since St. Paul none ever did? they know—
Those happy souls that heard him know this truth.
Did he confirm thy ag'd? convert thy youth?
Did he these wonders? and is his dear loss
Mourn'd by so few? few for so great a cross.

But sure the silent are ambitious all
To be close mourners of his funeral.
If not; in common pity they forbear
By repetitions to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd and hid consumes,
Man's life insensibly (as poison's fumes
Corrupt the brain), take silence for the way
T' enlarge the soul from these walls, mud and clay,
(Materials of this body) to remain
With him in heaven where no promiscuous pain
Lessens those joys we have; for with him all
Are satisfyd with joys essential.

Dwell on these joys, my thoughts! Oh, do not call
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
Forget he lov'd me: waste not my swift years,
Which haste to David's seventy, fill'd with fears

* La Corona.

And sorrows for his death: forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good men's hearts:
And, for my first is daily paid for sin,
Forget to pay my second sigh for him:
Forget his powerful preaching; and forget
I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let
My flesh be no more heard; it will obtrude
This lethargy: so should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should so be broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself: for which cause, I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world; and parting with it, grieve
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument as matchless as his worth.

April 7, 1631. IZ. WA.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON (whose life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption 1568, in Bocton-Hall, (commonly called Bocton, or Boughton-Place, or Palace,) in the parish of Bocton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent: Bocton-Hall being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying and being beautified by the parish-church of Bocton Malherbe adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill, as gives the advantage of a large prospect, and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and church are not remarkable for any thing so much, as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church; the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour; whose heroic acts, and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negociations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice, in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof, in the various times both of war and peace.

But lest I should be thought by any, that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have

observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree and our chronicles, a part (and but a part) of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, was born about the year of Christ 1460: he, living in the reign of King Edward IV. was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, (son and heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ 1489, in the reign of King Henry VII.; he was made Treasurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry VIII. who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England: "But," saith Hollinshed, in his Chronicle, "out of a virtuous modesty, he refused it."

Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Esquire, son and heir of the said Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry, that occasions this relation, was born in the year of Christ 1521. He was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood, (she was then with him at his Bocton-Hall,) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of

great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind. A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary Mr. William Lambert, in his Perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four sons, Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "a man remarkable for many and great employments in the state, during her reign, and sent several times ambassador into foreign nations. After her death, he was by King James made Comptroller of his Household, and called to be of his Privy Council, and by him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of that county."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was, in the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries, by taking that town.

Sir John, being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of

preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed; but if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton, (who lived in the reign of King Richard II.) or before him others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments, (*vide Camden's Britannia;*) having been sent nine times Ambassador unto foreign princes; and by his being a Privy Counsellor to King Henry VIII., to Edward VI., to Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, "died," saith learned Camden, "full of commendations for wisdom and piety." He was also by the will of King Henry VIII. made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State to his son, that pious prince, Edward VI.——Concerning which Nicholas Wotton I shall say but this little more; that he refused (being offered it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Archbishop of Canterbury—(*vide Hollinshed;*) and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added; but by this it may appear,

that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred, as left a stock of reputation to their posterity; such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employments had been pleased to have commended his to posterity; but since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborne to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of some * that still live solicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly I have not done but with some distrust of mine own abilities; and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudstone, Knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law; in the prosecution whereof, (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents,) he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, "That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was

* Sir Edward Bish, Clarencieux King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, sometime Sir Henry Wotton's servant.

seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons, namely,

"Those that had children;
Those that had law-suits;
And those that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in Westminster-Hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton, of Kent, Esq. who was also engaged in several suits in law: and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition, and affect her person; for the tears of lovers, or beauty drest in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted: which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew them so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a wife, and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in Kent,) he had only Henry his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood; for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in learning, as turned her employment into a pleasing trouble; which she was content to continue, till his father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Bocton.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to an higher form, (which was very early,) he was sent to Winchester-school, a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most ne-

cessary way to make the future part of his life both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age removed from that school, to be a commoner of New-College in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queen's College; where within that year he was by the chief of that college persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use; (it was the Tragedy of Tancredo)—which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had in a sleight employment given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sour dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise knight, Baptista Guarini, (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments,) thought it neither an uncomely nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Master of Arts; and at that time read in Latin three lectures *de Oculo*; wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye, and demonstrated how of those very many every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in

the very eyes of others, to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this optique question, "Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, or reception of the species from without?" And after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he in the conclusion of his lectures took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of "Seeing;—by which we do not only discover Nature's secrets, but with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great light of the world, and by it discover the fabric of the heavens, and both the order and motion of the celestial orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosom of the earth, our common mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time (like those very flowers) decays, withers, and quickly returns again to that earth, from which both had their first being."

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him "*Henrice mi Ocelle*;" which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father (whom Sir Henry did never mention without this or some like reverential expression; as, "That good man my father," or "My father, the best of men;") —about that time, this good man changed this for a better life; leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks

a year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors, of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concerns him may not be buried without a relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our redemption 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, (whom I formerly mentioned,) being then Ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased; yet doubtless he could not but consider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration; and did therefore rather lay this dream aside, than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh, (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations,) and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica, the mother of St. Austin, "That he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so

much, should at last become a Christian *" This, I believe, the good Dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God (though the causes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee; upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end he wrote to the Queen, (it was Queen Mary,) and besought her, "That she would cause his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent; and that the Lords of her Council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions, as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable prison; declaring that he would acquaint her Majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see and speak to her Majesty."

It was done as the Dean desired: and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary and Philip King of Spain; and though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion, of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation; yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number, Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-Abbey in Kent, (betwixt whose family and the family of the Wottons there had been an ancient and

* St. Austin's Confession.

entire friendship,) was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and he being defeated, and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life: so did the Duke of Suffolk and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for though he could not be ignorant that "Another man's treason makes it mine by concealing it," yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in prison, "That he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions;" and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it; "That God, who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those, whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love."

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will also give the reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past; and the particular is this.—This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University Treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars, and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight enquiry of it. The letter

(which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the City and University were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton shew his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble as the casting of a figure.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretel the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age; who being then in London, (where he died,) and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Bocton; and though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral.

This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford; where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis, (whom I formerly named,) that, if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law, into the breast of his dear Harry, for so Gentilis used to call him: and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and

connaturalness to the Italian language, and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that the friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton; yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne, sometime Dean of St. Paul's; a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his father's death; at which time he was about the twenty-second year of his age; and having to his great wit added the ballast of learning, and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge: of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure; as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years before

his return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza, (then very aged,) and with Isaac Casaubon, in whose house, if I be rightly informed, Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy, (the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life;) where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning and all manner of arts; as picture, sculpture, chymistry, architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his person and comportment; for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that, by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Robert Earl of Essex (then one of the darlings of fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his secretaries; the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometime of Merton College in Oxford, (and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth,) Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his learning; nor, after his removal from that place,

for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that (which was the Earl's last) into Ireland; that voyage, wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immoveable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as encouraged him to those undertakings, which, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the Earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him and divers of his confederation, yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions, as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention, by absence out of England, a better security, than to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately, glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Bocton; and was, by the help of favourable winds, and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon Sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England:

having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence, (which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts,) in which number he there met with his old friend Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where in the English college he had very many friends; (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion;) and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befel him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth, or she and her council, were never willing to declare her successor; yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed; and the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion, (even Rome itself, and those of this nation,) knowing that the death of the Queen and the establishing of her successor, were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the Protestant religion in this nation, did therefore im-

prove all opportunities for preventing a Protestant prince to succeed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, had both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so, (if we may believe an angry adversary, a secular Priest* against a Jesuit) you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence, (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth,) Ferdinand the Great Duke of Florence, had intercepted certain letters, that discovered a design to take away the life of James, the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring this fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and with those letters such Italian antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. Being there, he used means, by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bedchamber, to procure

* Watson in his Quodibets.

him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty; assuring him, "That the business which he was to negociate was of such consequence, as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his King."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder (mixed with jealousy) to hear of an Italian ambassador, or messenger, required his name, (which was said to be Octavio Baldi,) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore); and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber: at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, "bade him be bold, and deliver his message; for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the King in Italian; which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised and really performed by the King, during all his abode there, which was about three months; all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within some few months after his return, there came certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was

dead; and James King of the Scots proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found amongst other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was, after Lord Wotton, comptrolle of the House, of whom he demanded, "If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time foreign travel?" The Lord replied he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the King, asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice or Florence; but by late letters from thence he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," said the King, "and when he shall come into England, bid him repair privately to me." The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King, "If he knew him?" To which the King answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of *Octavio Baldi*, saying, "he was the most honest, and therefore the best, dissembler that ever he met with:" and said, "Seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter." And indeed the King did so most of those two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his motto, (*Beati pacifici*) to have a friendship with his neighbour-kingdoms of France and Spain; and also, for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the state of Venice, and to that end to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who, considering the smallness of his own estate, (which he never took care to augment,) and knowing the courts of great princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments; for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having, after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded: they were too many to name; but these two, for the following reasons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton, his nephew, who went his secretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of the number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of this following letter, sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

SIR,

After those reverend papers, whose soul is
Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name:
By which to you he derives much of his,
And how he may makes you almost the same;

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam
Of the same warm and dazzling sun, though it
Must in another sphere his virtue stream:

After those learned papers, which your hand
Hath stor'd with notes of use and pleasure too;
From which rich treasury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving papers which friends send
With glad grief to your sea-ward steps farewell,
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
To heaven on troops at a good man's passing bell:

Admit this honest paper and allow
It such an audience as yourself would ask;
What you would say at Venice this says now,
And has for nature what you have for task.

To swear much love; nor to be chang'd before
Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
Nor shall I then honour your fortune more,
Than I have done your honour-wanting wit.

But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)
To want, than govern greatness; for we are
In that our own and only business;
In this we must for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your spirits now are plac'd
In their last furnace, in activity,
Which fits them; schools, and courts, and wars o'er-past
To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me! (if there be such a thing as I)
Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
That she thinks nothing elso so fit for me.

But though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
For your increase, God is as near me here:
And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
In length and ease are alike every where.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the state of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time, as his master's friendship seemed useful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604, Leonardo Donato being then Duke; a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the state of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly, in the time of Pope Clement the eighth, some contests about the privileges of churchmen, and the power of the civil magistrate; of which, for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay-persons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magistrate; and in that inhibition they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when any goods or land once came into the hands of the ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof (the lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption

from all public service and taxes, and from all secular judgment; so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the laity."

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two clergymen, the Abbot of Nervesa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins as I think not fit to name: nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling; for holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation. These two having been long complained of at Rome in the name of the state of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this Abbot and Canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such, or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement the eighth and that republic: I say, calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering, as I conceive, that in the late council of Trent it was at last, (after many politic disturbances and delays, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's present power,) in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by that council, "That though discipline and especial excommunication be one of the chief sinews of church-government, and intended to keep men in obedience to it; for which end it was declared to be very profitable: yet it was also declared, and advised to be used with great sobriety and care, because experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly or rashly, it became more contemned than feared." And, though this was the advice of that council at the conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians; yet this prudent, patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul the fifth, who succeeded

him, (though not immediately, yet in the same year,) being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting those late acts of that state to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening if he were not obeyed, to proceed to the excommunication of the republic, who still offered to shew both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predecessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year, the Pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance; till at last the Pope's zeal to the Apostolic see did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole senate, and all their dominions, and, that done, to shut up all their churches; charging the whole clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him: and to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's interdict, they presently published, by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:

"That whosoever hath received from Rome any copy of a papal interdict, published there, as well against the law of God, as against the honour of this nation, shall presently render it to the Council of Ten, upon pain of death. And made it loss of estate and nobility, but to speak in the behalf of the Jesuits."

Then was Duado their ambassador called home from Rome, and the inquisition presently suspended by order of the state; and the flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit, might safely vent it against the Pope, either by

free speaking, or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the state advised with father Paul, a holy and learned friar, (the author of the History of the Council of Trent,) whose advice was, "Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose their own right:" he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the state, "That the Pope was trusted to keep two keys, one of *prudence*, and the other of *power*: and that, if they were not both used together, *power* alone is not effectual in an excommunication."

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the Venetians were all turned Protestants; which was believed by many, for that it was observed that the English ambassador was so often in conference with the senate, and his chaplain Mr. Bedel more often with father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: and also, for that the republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require: and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England; (that Pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church;) namely, "To endeavour the calling of a free council, for the settlement of peace in Christendom; and that he doubted not but that the French King, and divers other princes, would join to assist in so good a work; and, in the mean time, the sin of this breach, both with his and the Venetian dominions, must of necessity lie at the Pope's door."

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless; still acquainting

King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their consulters of state, and with his pen to defend their just cause: which was by him so performed, that the Pope saw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it: for they made an order, that in that day in which they were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge, that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James; for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent history of the remarkable council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public, both in English and in the universal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion; but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta, where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness, (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation,) with whom he passing an evening in merriments, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo; (a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them:) and Sir

Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador in these very words:

"Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum "republicæ causâ".

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

"An ambassador is an honest man, sent to *lie* abroad "for the good of his country."

But the word for *lie* (being the hinge upon which the conc it was to turn) was not so expressed in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this Albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit and a malicious pen; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King, and his ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice; and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him: and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Velserus (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another Apology to King James; which

were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, "That Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence."

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and useful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his (a will of conceits) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both; so those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance, that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius, yet his interest (as though it had been an intailed love) was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding dukes, during his employment to that state, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those dukes, and the other consulters of state; well knowing that he who negociates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse—with which, and his choice application

of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved, such interest in the state of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

But all this shews but his abilities, and his fitness for that employment: it will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what use he made of the interest which these procured him: and that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himself; he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German empire and in Italy; where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his interest shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples; one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk: and those English having by irregularities, or improvidence, brought themselves into several galleys and prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was, during

his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that, beside several other foreign employments, Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice ambassador to the republic of Venice. And at his last going thither, he was employed ambassador to several of the German princes, and more particularly to the emperor Ferdinando the second; and that his employment to him, and those princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia, and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was, by his eight months' constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his court, and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion, without bloodshed. But there were at that time two opposite armies in the field; and as they were treating, there was a battle fought, in the managery whereof there were so many miserable errors on the one side, (so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the King) and so advantageous events to the emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty; so that Sir Henry, seeing the face of peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that Court; and at his departure from the Emperor, was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of every battle move on the unseen wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next; and therefore humbly advised him to use his victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it seemed to be spoken with some passion, (his dear mistress the Queen of Bohemia being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the Emperor; who replied, "That he would consider his advice. And though he looked

on the King his master as an abettor of his enemy, the Paulsgrave; yet for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the treaty, that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit; and did therefore desire him to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him:" which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the countess of Sabrina, (an Italian lady, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged, and honourably entertained) "acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities;" presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor: which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, "That though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his royal mistress, the Queen of Bohemia;" for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his services to his Prince and this nation might be insisted upon; as, namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German princes, and the republic of Venice, for the English merchants: and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's return to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me, (his late Majesty's letter-office having now suffered a strange alienation,) and indeed I want time too; for the printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste

to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the inscription under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last embassy into England.

"Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natu minimus, à serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad confœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiæ Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi, postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum secundum, Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,

"Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo."

To London he came the year before King James died; who having, for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office, which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities; and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place, if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæsar, who then possessed it, and then grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support: for in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father; and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able

to satisfy, but by the King's payment of his arrears, due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists: this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: for it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That it was the very measure of congruity," he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, "Care not for tomorrow," were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of providence, that in this juncture of time the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eton became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerful suitors to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Sisyphus) rolled the restless stone of a state-employment, knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary offices, and piece of honest policy, (which I have not time to relate,) he got a grant of it from his Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind: but money was wanting to furnish him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey, for his assistance. Of which Nicholas Pey I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way

a servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's houshold, was made a great officer in his Majesty's house. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (in whom there was a radical honesty) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expressed by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at Court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears, (for less would not settle him in the college); and the want of such a sum "wrinkled his face vith care;" ('twas his own expression,) and, that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his college, and "Invidiæ remedium" writ over his study door.

This money, being part of his arrears, was, by his own and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest in Court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the college; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning; the college being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers; and (as Sir William Davenant has happily expressed the like of another person)

> "Laugh at the graver business of the State,
> Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate."

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the statutes of the college; by which he conceived himself bound to enter into

holy orders, which he did, being made deacon with all convenient speed. Shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit. To whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition which that Emperor Charles the fifth seemed to approve; who, after so many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might, by devout meditations, consult with God," which the rich or busy men seldom do; "and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions: and after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him, that *makes the outgoings of the morning to praise him*; even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the college. After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer. This was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind, and those still encreased by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure: but some parts of most days was usually spent

in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling, which he would usually call, "his idle time not idly spent;" saying often, he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers.

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning; for whose encouragement he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators; persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon: and he would often say, "That none despised eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it." He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets; and would never leave the school, without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion; concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to shew the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening

to hear their vesper music at church; the priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the choir this question, writ in a small piece of paper; "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" To which question Sir Henry presently underwrit, "My religion was to be found then, where yours is not to be found now, in the written word of God."

The next vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the choir-boys with this question to his honest, pleasant friend, the priest: Do you believe all those many thousands of poor Christians were damned, that were excommunicated because the Pope and the Duke of Venice could not agree about their temporal power? even those poor Christians that knew not why they quarrelled. Speak your conscience." To which he underwrit in French, "Monsieur, excusez-moi."

To one that asked him, "Whether a Papist may be saved?" he replied, "You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself."

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice: "Pray, Sir, forbear till you have studied the points better; for the wise Italians have this proverb: He that understands amiss concludes worse. And take heed of thinking, the farther you go from the church of Rome, the nearer you are to God."

And to another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

"In my travel towards Venice, as I passed through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius, (then the Professor of Divinity in that University,) a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy. And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions, (as so

weak a brain as mine is may easily do,) then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild appears by his proposals to our Master Perkins of Cambridge, from whose book, 'Of the Order and Causes of Salvation' (which was first writ in Latin) Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequence of his doctrine; intending them, it is said, to come privately to Mr. Perkins's own hands, and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him, and it is thought Arminius meant them to die with him: for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them: but since his death his sons did not. And it is a pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though, since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy; yet for the most part they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting party. And, doubtless, many middle-witted men, which yet may mean well, many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning, which yet may preach well, men that are but preachers, and shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the Church of England, (if there be any,) will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude, for being busy-bodies, and for meddling with things they understand not."

And here it offers itself (I think not unfitly) to tell the reader, that a friend of Sir Henry Wotton's being designed for the employment of an ambassador,

came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negociations: to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism; "That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his country, he should always, and upon all occasions, speak the truth." It seems a state paradox. "For," says Sir Henry Wotton, "you shall never be believed; and by this means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account; and it will also put your adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

Many more of this nature might be observed; but they must be laid aside: for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the reader to look back with me, whilst, according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir Albertus Morton and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my readers, that at Sir Henry Wotton's first going ambassador into Italy, his cousin, Sir Albertus Morton, went his secretary: and I am next to tell you, that Sir Albertus died secretary of state to our late King; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed Sir Henry Wotton, at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world. And yet the reader may partly guess by these following expressions: the first in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

"—— And, my dear Nick, when I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus Morton's departure out of this world, who was dearer to me than mine own being in it. What a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, will easily believe: but our Creator's will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all nature and of all fortune, when he

taketh to himself now one, and then another, till that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the heaven itself as a scroll of parchment. This is the last philosophy that we must study upon earth. Let us therefore, that yet remain here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, because death itself cannot end it. And my good Nick, &c."

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nick Pey: the other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude it was too hearty to be dissembled.

TEARS

WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

Silence, in truth, would speak my sorrow best,
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell:
Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest
A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
And now, congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
Strength to accent, "Here my Albertus lies."

This is that sable stone, this is the cave
And womb of earth, that doth his corse embrace:
While others sing his praise, let me engrave
These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of woe;
Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
And here my faithful TEARS in showers shall flow,
To humanize the flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
And none between my weakness judge and me;
Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here,
As if some Muse would listen to my lay?
When all distun'd sit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
Discharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's trust;
Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the reader by telling him, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton ambassador to the state of Venice, he sent also an ambassador to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the ambassador of France went Joseph Hall, late Bishop of Norwich, whose many and useful works speak his great merit: with the ambassador to Spain went James Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three chaplains to these three ambassadors were all bred in one University, all of one college *, all beneficed one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends. But in Spain Mr. Wadsworth met with temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful as to persuade him (who of the three was formerly observed to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself Catholic) to disclaim himself a member of the Church of England, and declare himself for the Church of Rome; discharging him-

* Emanuel College in Cambridge.

self of his attendance on the ambassador, and betaking himself to a monasterial life, in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Bishop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth, (it is the first epistle in his printed decades,) to persuade his return, or to shew the reason of his apostacy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expression of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there passed betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers letters which be extant in print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness; which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a book-war.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's written to our late King Charles the First:

"May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

"Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) Governor of your college at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first employment there, I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been pro-

pounded unto your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

"For it may please your Majesty to know that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known to the king your father, of most blessed memory. And so, with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office; for the general fame of his learning, his life, and Christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

"Your Majesty's

"Most humble and faithful servant,

H. WOTTON."

To this letter I shall add this; that he was (to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton) made governor of the said college*; and that, after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of Kilmore †. In both places his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians: for as they, so he kept all the Ember-weeks, observed (besides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such as shewed his affections were set upon *things that are above;* for indeed his

* Aug. 1627. † Sept. 3, 1629.

whole life brought forth the *fruits of the spirit*; there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a bishop, *That he have a good report of those that be without* *; so had he: for those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Roman persuasion, (of which there were very many in his diocese,) did yet (such is the power of visible piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and testified it by a concealing and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinctions of persons; and yet there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison (1629). And with him was lost many of his learned writings which were thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years labour, and conference, and study, he had translated it into the Irish tongue, with an intent to have printed it for public use.

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain; and much of his second chaplain, Isaac Bargrave, Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of Canterbury; as also of the merits of many others, that had the happiness to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments: but the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton College, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther, and in it the history of the

* 1 Tim. iii. 7.

Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: for the doing of which he had many advantages by his several embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several princes of the empire; by whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late reverend Bishop of Salisbury. But in the midst of this design, his late Majesty King Charles the First, that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did by a persuasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500*l.* a year) force him to lay Luther aside and betake himself to write the history of England; in which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the sixth, the founder of that college, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being. But Sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the college, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained; he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his foreign employments, for which his just arrears due from the King would have made satisfaction: but being still delayed with court-promises, and finding some decays of health, he did, about two

years before his death, out of a Christian desire that none should be a loser by him, make his last will; concerning which a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit, or conscionable policy. But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony, and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand.

"In the name of God almighty and all-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's college by Eton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do by this last will and testament thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect; in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his Holy Spirit, the true eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at or near Eton, to buried in the chapel of the said college, as the fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived (my God knows) in all loving affection; or if I shall die near Bocton Malherb, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that parish-church, as near as may be to the sepulchre of my good father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ."

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly; and consider-

ing that time moulders even marble to dust, (for* "Monuments themselves must die;") therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirach adviseth all men) by a useful apophthegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence, to discover his disposition, and preserve his memory. It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

HIC JACET HUJUS SENTENTIÆ PRIMUS AUTHOR:
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.
NOMEN ALIAS QUÆRE.

Which may be Englished thus:

HERE LIES THE FIRST AUTHOR OF THIS SENTENCE:
THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.
INQUIRE HIS NAME ELSEWHERE.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence: but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, *Nothing can be spoken, that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the sun.* But grant, that in his various reading he had met with this or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the communion of Saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the

* Juven. Sat. x. 146.

first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view and censure of every critic. And questionless it will be charity in all readers to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and that, in this sacred ecstasy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant, into which he daily expected his admission; and that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous and more destructive to humble piety; and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and where, our reverend Hooker says, "former simplicity, and softness of spirit, is not now to be found, because zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness." It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph; the rest of his will follows in his own words.

"Further I the said Henry Wotton do constitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my last will and testament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Morton, second son to Sir Robert Morton, Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canturbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison, one of the Fellows of Eton College, best acquainted with my books and pictures and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last will and

testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his Majesty's Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my forenamed executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or that shall be hereafter added unto this my testament by any codicil or schedule, or left in the hands, or in any memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison. And first, to my most dear Sovereign and Master, of incomparable goodness, (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest man,) I leave four pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the backside, which hang in my great ordinary dining room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto: likewise a table of the Venetian College, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. Item, The picture of a Duke of Venice, hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principal hand, long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

"Item, I leave his said Majesty all the papers and negociations of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knight, during his famous employment under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France; which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his paper-office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were com-

mitted to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton his son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust. Item, I leave to our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo, in the best language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful prince, the picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues, through the clouds of her fortune. To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world; most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life-time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services, (wherein I more studied the public honour than mine own utility,) some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last will and testament shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble; hoping likewise in his Majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my

said arrears. To —— for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave, as emblems of his attractive virtues and obliging nobleness, my great loadstone, and a piece of amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, a piece of Crystal Sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhætian Alps, in the very place where it grew; recommending most humbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the forenamed Spiritual Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person. Item, I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity,) the four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye in his parlour, (being in little form,) which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

"To the abovenamed Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this will. I leave to him likewise my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy, in which country I first contracted with him an unremoveable affection. To my other supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of uses: in the lower box whereof are some* fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in the solicitation of my arrears; and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my

* In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

foreign employments. To the Library at Eton College I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain ring of gold, enamelled black, all save the verge, with this motto within, *Amor unit omnia.*

"This is my last will and testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed, written on the first of October, in the present year of our Redemption, 1637, and subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.

"HENRY WOTTON.

"Nich. Oudert.
"Geo. Lash."

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies: by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton Hall, where he would say, "He found a cure for all cares, by the cheerful company," which he called "the living furniture of that place:" and "a restoration of his strength, by the connaturalness of" that which he called "his genial air."

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester College, to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester towards Eton College, said to a friend, his companion in that journey; "How useful was that advice of a holy Monk, who persuaded his friend *to perform his customary devotions, in a constant*

place, because in that place we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there! And I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my now being in that school, and seeing that very place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me: sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares, and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow paced) had changed my youth into manhood. But age and experience have taught me that those were but empty hopes; for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretel, *Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.* Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and, questionless, possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Winchester to Eton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative; in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales, (the learned Mr. John Hales,) then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose: "I have, in my passage to my grave, met with most of those joys of which a discoursive soul is capable; and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of: nevertheless in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm sea of content; but have often met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet, though I have been and am a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making *shipwreck of faith and a good conscience*, the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise

him for it: and I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself, but he that hath kept me to this great age, and let him take the glory of his great mercy.— And, my dear friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death; that harbour that will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this restless world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better; that world *wherein dwelleth righteousness; and I long for it.*"

These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma, or short spitting: but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him, came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness; of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the busy part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretel that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several

of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever, his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester School, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eton College, where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain grave-stone over him: dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the service of his prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen, to have preserved his memory, and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

IZ. WA.

AN

ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON,

WRIT BY

MR. ABRAM COWLEY.

WHAT shall we say, since silent now is he,
Who when he spoke all things would silent be!

Who had so many languages in store,
That only Fame shall speak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd must see;
He's gone to heaven, on his fourth embassy.
On earth he travell'd often, not so say,
He'd been abroad to pass loose time away;
For in whatever land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners; bringing home
Their wisdom, learning, and their piety,
As if he went to conquer, not to see.
So well he understood the most and best
Of tongues that Babel sent into the West;
Spoke them so truly, that he had, you'd swear,
Not only liv'd, but been born every where.
Justly each nation's speech to him was known;
Who for the world was made, not us alone.
Nor ought the language of that man be less,
Who in his breast had all things to express:
We say that learning's endless, and blame Fate
For not allowing life a longer date.
He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find,
And found them not so large as was his mind;
But, like the brave Pellean youth, did moan,
Because that art had no more worlds than one.
And when he saw that he through all had past,
He dy'd lest he should idle grow at last.

A. Cowley.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

THE

LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

TO THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business and want of time made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify: for, though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions: yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader; I shall rather leave him at liberty: but, if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to

acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the Printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak but faithful endeavours may become a better monument, and in some degree more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at myself, that I have been persuaded to it; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my Introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded, by a friend whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write the Life of Richard Hooker, the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness; because I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to enquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death, (now sixty-four years past,) but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the age in which I live) and shall therefore but intreat of my reader a suspension of his censures, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity, and this is all I can probably hope for.—My reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now past the seventy of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, (now with God,) grand nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a bosom-friend and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in the following discourse; as also George Cranmer their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden, and others.

This William Cranmer and his two fore-named sisters had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship, with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishop's-Born near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I say, a part of their education with him, as myself since that time a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which enquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Usher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham; as also the learned John Hales, of Eton College; and with them also (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many

others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend: in the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my Introduction.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

THE

LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

It is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree, near, or within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter, a city which may justly boast, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our Redemption 1553, and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony, and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of forty) was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed, (so far as

enquiry is able to look back at this distance of time,) that at his being a school-boy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive, "Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered?" "Why this was granted, and that denied?" This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better, age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his school-master, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the *seeds of piety*, those conscientious principles of *loving and fearing God*; of *an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our inno-*

cence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good school-master, whose name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar,) was very solicitous with John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some College, though it were but in a mean degree; still urging and assuring him, that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed by him, and with the assistance of the learned Mr. John Jewel; of whom this may be noted, that he left, or was about the first of Queen Mary's reign expelled out of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, (of which he was a Fellow,) for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which

he had assented and given testimony in the days of her brother and predecessor, Edward VI; and this John Jewel having within a short time after a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation, and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and with many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner or visitor of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

About the second or third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to this willingness; this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, "and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the Bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the Bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations; yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place: which was done accordingly; and then

after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the Bishop gave his schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents; promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which he performed: for about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then President of Corpus Christi College. Which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that college: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as Monica, the mother of St. Augustine did, that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and as often pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; of whom he would often say, he loved her so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her's, as for his own sake.

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this

sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table: which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the Bishop's parting with him, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the Bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse, which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God with much ease:" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse: be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats, to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her I send her a Bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college: and so God bless you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which happy change may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and

prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, "Whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven?"

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, he should neither want food nor raiment, (which was the utmost of his hopes,) for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer; for about that time this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (sometime Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced by forsaking this to seek safety in another nation; where, for some years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in September 1571. A little before which time the two Bishops meeting, Jewel had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was: for the Bishop said, "I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example; and my greatest care shall be of the last; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will

commit my Edwin." And the Bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the University; and had, by a constant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted studies, he had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his restless industry added to both, *he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men.* And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils, (which in time were many,) but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hooker's learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable, that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: and by this, and a grave behaviour,

which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till his death; still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hampshire; out of which counties a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the Founder's statutes. And now as he was much encouraged; so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Cardinal Poole, but more that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson, of that foundation. The first famous for his learned "Apology for the Church of England," and his "Defence of it against Harding." The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John Hart, of the Romish persuasion, about the head and faith of the Church, and after printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent "Exposition of the Creed," and other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was Dr. Jackson more note-worthy for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love, and meekness, and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling a man of note for learning, being then Vice-Chancellor: and the Act following he was completed Master, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being Vice-Chancellor that year, and his dear friend, Henry Savil of Merton College, being then one of the Proctors. It was that Henry Savil, that was after Sir Henry Savil, Warden of Merton College, and Provost of Eton; he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

It was that Sir Henry Savil, that translated and enlightened the "History of Cornelius Tacitus," with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happiness to be a contemporary and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker; and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted Fellow of the college; happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after and successively made Presidents of Corpus Christi College: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "Speculum Europæ," as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels, and for his harmonious

translation of the Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden, of Fines Morrison and others.

"This Cranmer," (says Mr. Camden, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth,) "whose Christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hopes, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the Archbishop's brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, where he continued Master of Arts for some time before he removed, and then betook himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return, he betook himself to an employment under Secretary Davison, a Privy Counsellor of note, who, for an unhappy undertaking, became clouded and pitied: after whose fall, he went in place of Secretary with Sir Henry Killegrew in his embassage into France: and after his death he was sought after by the most noble Lord Mountjoy, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained until in a battle against the rebels near Carlingford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him, he being then but in the thirty-sixth year of his age."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in an univerty, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not. And in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: and as the holy Prophet saith, so *they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of*

God as friends. By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity, as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the college, and Mr. Hooker to his studies, in which he was daily more assiduous, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and indeed with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same spirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, that "God abhors confusion as contrary to his nature;" and as often say, "That the Scripture was not writ to beget disputations, and pride, and opposition to government; but charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind;" of which virtues, would as often say, no man did ever repent himself on his death-bed. And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested and made useful; and of all which the

reader will have a fair testimony in what will follow.

In the year 1579, the Chancellor of the University was given to understand, that the public Hebrew Lecture was not read according to the statutes; nor could be, by reason of a distemper, that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill, who was to read it; so that it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language. Therefore the Chancellor writ to his Vice-Chancellor, and the University, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it: and he did, and continued to do so till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this Lecture, (namely in October 1579,) he was with Dr. Reynolds and others expelled his college; and this letter, transcribed from Dr. Reynolds's own hand, may give some account of it.

"To Sir Francis Knolles.

"I am sorry, Right Honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, which I cannot move, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our college, who hath taken upon him, against all law and reason, to expel out of our house both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which by oath we were bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the Bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forasmuch as some of our adversaries have said that the Bishop is already forestalled, and will not give us such audience as we look for; therefore I am humbly to beseech your honour, that you will desire the Bishop, by your letters, to let us have justice; though it be with rigour, so it be justice: our cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail

by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your honour for Corpus Christi College sake, or rather for Christ's sake; whom I beseech to bless you with daily increase of his manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of his Holy Spirit.

"Your Honour's in Christ to command,

London, Oct. 9, 1579. "JOHN REYNOLDS."

This expulsion was, by Dr. John Barfoote, then Vice-president of the college, and Chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but, that they were restored the same month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his college, where he continued his studies with all quietness, for the space of three years; about which time he entered into sacred orders, being then made Deacon and Priest, and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamite's house; which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour; for he was a virtuous man. I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier an horse, (supposing the horse trotted when he did not;) and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed

him, that he would not be persuaded two days rest and quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon: but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon; which was, "That in God there were two wills; an antecedent and a consequent will: his first will, That all mankind should be saved; but his second will was, That those only should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of grace which he had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion intrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in his rational answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, "that he was a man of a tender constitution;" and "that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove

a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not considering, that *the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light*; but, like a true Nathaniel, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with, (you may read it in the book of Genesis,) when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac: for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house: so that the good man had no reason to *rejoice in the wife of his youth*; but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, *Wo is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!*

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at: but let us consider that the Prophet Ezekiel says, *There is a wheel within a wheel*; a secret sacred wheel of Providence, (most visible in marriages,) guided by his hand, that *allows not the race to the swift*, nor *bread to the wise*, nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to this reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the reader cease to wonder, for *affliction is a divine diet*; which though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often very often, imposed it as good, though bitter physic to those children, whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage; which was Draiton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, not far from Ailsbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln; to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq. (then patron of it) the ninth of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God) *in much patience, in afflctions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, and no doubt in long suffering; yet* troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, took a journey to see their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand, (it was the Odes of Horace,) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. But when his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for *Richard was called to rock the cradle;* and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till next morning which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition; and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging

for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parsonage; and more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion, after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I, that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me; but labour (as indeed I do daily) to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, Mr. Alvy (Master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour, as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. And at the Temple-reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, he the said Archbishop of York being then at dinner with the Judges, the Reader, and the Benchers of that society, met with a general condolement for the death of Father Alvy, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both towards God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Draiton Beauchamp to

London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might "see God's blessing spring out of the earth, and be free from noise," (so he expressed the desire of his heart,) "and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness." But, notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the Bishop's proposal, and was by * patent for life made Master of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age.

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place; a place which he accepted, rather than desired: and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for, that so he might in peace bring forth fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praises. For this he always thirsted and prayed: but Almighty God did not grant it; for his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions

* This you may find in the Temple Records. Will. Ermstead was Master of the Temple at the dissolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz.

Richard Alvy, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. Magister five Custos Domûs et Ecclesiæ novi Templi, died 27 Eliz.

Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, in terminis, as Alvy had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.

That year Dr. Belgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to; and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time, in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them, or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the Church and State; believing there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends; and these begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign; and thus it continued too long; for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the Church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more; neglecting to pay that obedience, and perform, those vows, which they made in their days of adversities and fear: so that in a short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs: they may for distinction be called, the "active Romanists," the "restless Nonconformists," (of which there were many sorts,) and the "passive peaceable

Protestant." The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome: the second both in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there and within the bosom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil: and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the Church and State; because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformists; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet of this party there were many that were possessed with a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate restless pride and malice; I do not mean the visible carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like, (from which, good Lord, deliver us;) but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love, and mercy, and order, and peace; and more like the Devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a Devil: but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to government: men that joyed to be the authors of misery, which is properly his work that is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton or drunkard, though some will not believe it.

And of this party there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded, as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace; men, that were the very dregs and pest of mankind; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own pitiful crooked wisdom so much as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men, that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then speak evil of government, and to be the authors of confusion; men, whom company, and conversation, and custom had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that like those that perished in the gainsaying of Core, so these died without repenting of these spiritual wickednesses; of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are, God knows, too sad examples, and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like spiritual wickednesses.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruple-mongers, that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate: and yet these very men in their secret conventicles did covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the Presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on; but, up that government must. To which end there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the Church and State; but especially against the Bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, the common people became so

fanatic, as to believe the Bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructers of God's dicipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that *Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword.* So that those very men, that began with tender and meek petitions, proceeded to admonitions; then to satirical remonstrances; and at last (having, like Absalom, numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause) they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the Bishops, and then the Queen and Parliament, to all which they were secretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her Majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of conscience; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the Bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-House.

And to these undertakings the Nonconformists of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one * told the Queen openly in a sermon, "she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline." And in Scotland they were more confident; for there † they declared her an Atheist, and grew to such an height, as not to be accountable for any thing spoken against her, nor for treason against their

* Mr. Dering.

† Vide Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland.

own King, if it were but spoken in the pulpit; shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death, the Church denied the King their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed aday of feasting, the Church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the Church and State: and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the Church and State were forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, and considering them, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose; "That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and to determine what laws were fit to be made concerning church-government; and then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished. That they were more able (or at least thought so) to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the wisest of the most learned colleges in Italy. That men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left

to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "That those very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputations, and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of his Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not believe, into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature; (for the Heathens believe that there are many Gods;) but these had sinned themselves into a belief that there was no God; and so finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, namely, *That they might be like the beasts that perish;* and in wicked company (which is the Atheist's sanctuary) were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it: even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the Church was pestered with them, and with all those other forenamed irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin; (for heresies do usually outlive their first authors;) when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied: when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of

persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others: when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority; in this extremity of fear, and danger of the Church and State, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age,) gives this true character; "That he was a man of reverend and sacred memory, and of the primitive temper; such a temper, as when the Church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue." And indeed this man proved so.

And though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character of Sir Henry Wotton; yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be both prudent, and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall; (where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor;) from thence he was removed to Peter-House; from thence to be master of Pembroke-Hall; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity-College. About which time the Queen made him her chaplain; and not long after Prebend of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not with her a usual favour) for-

giving him his first fruits; then by constituting him Vice-President of the Principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs in both these places, she in the twenty-sixth of her reign made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and, not long after, of her Privy Council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the Ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this Bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares: in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth) "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his Church." And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church-affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindal, his immediate predecessor, the activity of the Nonconformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage, nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that, without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach, that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the Church, or indeed to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa, ("Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest,") he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him

were such, that she called him *her little black husband,* and called his servants her servants: and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the Church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor; of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was, that "she would never eat flesh in Lent, without obtaining a licence from her little black husband:" and would often say, "she pitied him because she trusted him, and thereby eased herself by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which he managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her Majesty, and his care of the Church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an act or acts of Parliament, intending the better preservation of the Church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the Crown: and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the Queen's, the Earl of Leicester was one; and the Bishop having, by his interest with her Majesty, put a stop to the Earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the Bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty, (for he found her alone,) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose.

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that yours and the Church's safety

are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that Princes are deputed nursing Fathers of the Church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation; or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the Church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, Madam, let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege; and that, if there were not, they could not have names in holy writ, and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, *He judged no man;* and, to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery; yet in this point of the Church's rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser and the judge, and the executioner too, to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the profaners out of the Temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider, that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, and yet committed sacrilege; *Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* supposing, I think, sacrilege the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty to consider, that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider, that Constantine the first Christian Emperor, and Helena his mother; that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor; and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have

also given to God, and to his Church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but gave them for ever as an absolute right and sacrifice to God: and with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them: God prevent your Majesty and your successors from being liable to that curse which will cleave unto Church-lands as the leprosy to the Jews.

"And to make you, that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you forget not, that, to prevent these curses, the Church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved, as far as human reason and the law of this nation have been able to preserve them, by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the Princes of this realm. For they that consult Magna Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, *to maintain the Church-lands, and the rights belonging to it;* and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta; a curse like the leprosy, that was entailed on the Jews: for as that, so these curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and the father's sin of sacrilege hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now, Madam, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your Majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully or but negligently violated, I know not.

"And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lord's exceptions against the failings of some few

clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity for the errors of this present age: let particular men suffer for their particular errors; but let God and his Church have their inheritance: and though I pretend not to prophesy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; that Church-land added to an ancient and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both: or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles and herself that stole it. And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the Church's rights, added to the vast treasures left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them.

"And consider, that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that as King Saul, after he was forsaken of God, fell from one sin to another; so he, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies; and when they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe it to be in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of Parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the Church's lands; yet dispose of them, for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God, that is, as the donors intended: let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; but put a stop to God's and the Levites portion, I beseech you, and the approaching ruins of his Church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for Kings

must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainness my most dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favour; and the Lord still continue you in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, and her future care to preserve the Church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made hers and the Church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining Church-lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eased her of all her Church-cares by his wise manage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence

and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that, within a few hours after her death he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful successor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alms-house near to his own palace at Croydon in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth, (which was very often,) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars. Which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then ambassador for the French King, and resident here, at the Bishop's death, to say, "The Bishop had published many learned books; but a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor peeple, were the best evidences of Christian learning that a Bishop could leave to posterity." This good Bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell into an extreme sickness at his palace in Lambeth; of which when the King had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition and very weak; and after some short discourse be-

twixt them, the King at his departure assured him, "He had a great affection for him, and a very high value for his prudence and virtues, and would endeavour to beg his life of God for the good of his Church." To which the good Bishop replied, "Pro Ecclesia Dei, pro Ecclesia Dei:" which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's Church.

This John Whitgift was made Archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time you may believe he had many trials of his courage and patience: but his motto was, "Vincit, qui patitur;" and he made it good.

Many of his trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning, sometime contemporary with the Bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college, of which the Bishop had been Master: in which place there began some emulations, (the particulars I forbear,) and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them, and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the University can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the Earl's death, (which was 1588,) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva Church-government; and, to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed: and to which the Bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the Bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was, or was persuaded to be, satisfied; for he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge

which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the Bishop many personal favours and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and where the Bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation; and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Bishop surviving him but some few months; each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers, a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's as the Bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself, and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the Bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith, which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not: men that were become positive in asserting, *That a Papist cannot be saved:* insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Bishop that preached her funeral sermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming God's, so far as to set limits to his mercies, there was not only one *Martin Mar-Prelate*, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem

with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these or like titles; *An Almond for a Parrot; A Fig for my Godson; Come crack me this Nut*, and the like; so that this merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father of Alvy, who was Master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was Lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of a winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the Presbytery in Antwerp, (and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated,) and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation; for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be Master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them in their sermons: many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this Church;

insomuch that, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons: for, as one hath pleasantly expressed it, "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury; and the afternoon Geneva."

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent Archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers's preaching, by a positive prohibition. Against which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned her Majesty's Privy Council to have it recalled; where, besides his patron, the Earl of Leicester, he met also with many assisting friends: but they were not able to prevail with or against the Archbishop, whom the Queen had intrusted with all Church-power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleasant to divers of his party; and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them, and many others of that party, as never to be answered: so that, intending the Bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear, and make as public an answer; which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the Bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a familiar friendship with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented, (all or most of which I have seen written,) would prove at least tedious: and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, "That the assurance of what we believe by the Word of God is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by sense." And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

"First; I taught, that the things which God promises in his Word are not surer than what we touch, handle, or see: but are we so sure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience? For we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwise it is no proof. For example; how is it that many men looking on the moon, at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth? But many believing one and the same promise, have not all one and the same fulness of persuasion. For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are; when as the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth hath always need to labour, strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?"

The sermon, that gave him the cause of this his justification, makes the case more plain, by declaring "That there is, besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence." In which having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it

"Comfortable (he says) as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it."

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that, by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, "Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know I do not believe." (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) "Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless, and without belief: but are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are; do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking, that they have of those things believed? For no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think those things to be, which they shew they love, when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that, by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtilties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve." This is an abridgement of part of the reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his sermons had declared, "That he doubted not but that God was merciful to many of our forefathers living in Popish superstition,

for as much as they sinned ignorantly:" and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first, he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus: (they be his own words that follow:) "That, the way of nature; this, the way of grace; the end of that way, salvation merited, presupposing the righteousness of men's works; their righteousness, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodness of God, which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: presupposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification; their justification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election, a mediator in whom to be elected; this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their misery for whom he vouchsafed to die, and make himself a mediator."

And he also declareth, "There is no meritorious cause for our justification, but Christ; no effectual, but his mercy;" and says also, "We deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief, he declareth,

is to destroy the very essence of our justification; and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet nevertheless," and for this he was accused, "considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends, by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves: because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, *Such men are damned; there is for them no salvation?* St. Austin says, *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his Gospel; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, *Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins!* shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? If they do, wherefore should I doubt, but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, You err in your opinion; but be of good comfort; you have to do with a merciful God, who will make the best of that little which you hold well; and not with a captious sophister, who gathereth the worst out of every thing in which you are mistaken."

But it will be said, says Mr. Hooker, "The admittance of merit in any degree overthroweth the

foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all possibility of salvation." (And now Mr. Hooker's own words follow.)

"What, though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christian faith; although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit, although they have all other tokens of God's children in them? although they be far from having any proud opinion, that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? although the only thing, that troubleth and molesteth them, be a little too much dejection, somewhat too great a fear arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themselves? although they be not obstinate in this opinion? although they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were brought sufficient to disprove it; although the only cause why they do not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be disproved? although the cause why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not to remove it? Let me die (says Mr. Hooker) if it be ever proved, that simply an error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in such a case utterly from hope of life. Surely, I must confess, that it be an error to think that God may be merciful to save men, even when they err, my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that, as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my reader; as also for that the answers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reason, and equal charity. Other exceptions were also made against him by Mr. Travers, as "That he prayed before, and not after, his sermons; that in his

prayers he named Bishops; that he kneeled, both when he prayed, and when he received the Sacrament; and (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that, in the manage of so great a controversy, a sharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, "Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons: to your railing I say nothing; to your reasons I say what follows." And I am glad of this fair occasion to testify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchless man. And doubtless, if Almighty God had blest the dissenters from the ceremonies and discipline of this Church, with a like measure of wisdom and humility, instead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kissed each other; then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this Church and State had been blessed like Jerusalem, *that is at unity with itself*: but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief, "That Schism is a sin, and they not fit to judge what is Schism;" and bless them also with a belief, "That there may be offences taken which are not given;" and, "That laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey."

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker proved to be *felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few of his sermons, which we now see printed with his books; and of his Answer to Mr. Travers Supplication; and of his most learned and useful discourse of Justification, of Faith, and Works; and by their transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were; and

from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation: but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple, that were zealous of Mr. Travers, and for his Church-discipline; insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness, of this humble man: for though the chief Benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Mr. Travers's judgment; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief: and, that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate, sober treatise of the Church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to shew such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason, delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon: than which none ever was more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might, after his death, justly say, "What admirable height of learning, and depth of judgment, dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man; great in all wise men's eyes, except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered hea-

venly mysteries; whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall; let those that knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; he therefore earnestly solicited the Archbishop for a remove from that place; to whom he spake to this purpose: "My Lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My Lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with, as to alter our frame of Church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and other tender consciences shall require us. And in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend a justification of the laws of our ecclesiastical polity; in which design God and his holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does; that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences: and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for God's

blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

About this time the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that see, (which was three years betwixt the translation of Bishop Pierce to the see of York, and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it,) the disposal of that, and all benefices belonging to that see, during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in the said year instituted, (July 17.) to be a Minor Prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Havin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the register-book in Stationers Hall, the 9th of March, 1592, but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs *to them that seek (as they term it) the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England;* of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life; (of all which more properly hereafter;) but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender

of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell; and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it the 23d of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbishop's gift: but, in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich; by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Borne, the seventh of July 1595; in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Borne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next I am to tell, that at the end of these four books there was, when he first printed them, this Advertisement to the Reader. "I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the reader is requested to mend the Printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the Archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told,

more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton, (both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Hooker's four books were first printed), meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author, that both the reformed and the learned of their own Romish Church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome: and after reading them, boasted to the Pope, (which then was Clement the Eighth,) "That though he had lately said, he never met with an English book, whose writer deserved the name of author; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English Priest had writ four such books of Laws, and Church-polity, and in a style that expressed such a grave and so humble a majesty, with such clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him:" and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author: his books will get reverence by age; for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he enquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow: to which the King

replied, "And I receive it with no less, that I shal want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books I have received such satisfaction: indeed, my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, or church-music, or the like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men: and I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language; but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason, and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the Fathers and Schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And, though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake, that, as the most learned of the nation have, and still do mention Mr Hooker with reverence; so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious King, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden *, mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, "that, for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been

* In his Annals, 1599.

weary, and forsaken it: but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now Lord Bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say, (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live, and yet know him not), that since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy, in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne: in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then or about that time made one of the Prebends of Canterbury; a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied, and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacrilege; and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers of the Low Countries; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially

of three; one, of the Degrees of Ministers, and of the Bishops' superiority above the presbytery; a second, against Sacrilege; and a third of Christian Obedience to Princes; the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when, in a time of church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy, (which he calls divine, human, and satanical,) this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbishop; and printed about the the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world in the publication of his first four books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This friendship being sought for by this learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Borne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and their designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired: and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, *What went they out to see? a man clothed in purple and fine linen?* No, indeed; but an obscure, harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul: his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat pimples, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face: and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time: and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended: and the reader has a liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his wife.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cowper, who still lives; and the poor clerk had many rewards for

shewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence: to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning. But it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament, the then present parson of Borne was sequestered, (you may guess why,) and a Genevian minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, "They had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted, if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now, they would have sequestered him too."

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the Sacrament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or communion-table, for them to sit and eat and drink: but when they went about this work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions, (but not to kneel upon.) When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him "cease wondering, and lock the church-door:" to whom he replied, "Pray take you the keys, and lock me out: I will never come more into this church; for all men will say, my master Hooker was a good man, and a good scholar; and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days:" and report says the old man went presently home and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this

place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations. His use was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his Curate to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer. His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place, to prevent imagination from wandering; insomuch, that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade than frighten men into piety; studying not so much for matter, (which he never wanted,) as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, "was as discernible in a preacher, as a natural from an artificial beauty."

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious Clergy, but especially the last; saying often, "That the life of a pious Clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing that the most godless men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives." And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up

for many hours; and did the like most Fridays and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kindnesses and love; because *Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.*

He was diligent to enquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because as St. John says, *He that lives in love, lives in God; for God is love.* And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion, and then to receive it often; for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces. This was his advice;

and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did, by walking with him in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though, in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blest with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour both at Borne, and in all the places in which he lived: thus did he walk with God, and tread the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked Elders; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had heretical enemies,) a slander which this age calls trepanning. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said, that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me: but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety

of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many months; and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion, as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, Edwyn Sandys and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon. To which the good man's reply was to this purpose:" "The Lord forgive them; and the Lord bless you for this comfortable news. Now have I a just occasion to say with Solomon, *Friends are born for the days of adversity*; and such you have proved to me. And to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.* And, O my God, neither my life, nor my reputation, are safe in mine own keeping; but in thine, who didst take care of me when I yet hanged upon my mother's breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord: for when false witnesses were risen up against me; when shame was ready to cover my face; when my nights were restless; when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth after the rivers of waters; then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies: the net is broken, and they are taken in it. Oh! blessed are they that put their trust in thee. And no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrow, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my affliction;

for with such sacrifices, thou, O God, art well pleased; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth; and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that, to prevent the excesses of it, (for men would not know moderation,) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says *Vengeance is mine:* and though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it. And yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That however he would fast and pray that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment." And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And it is observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, "O with what quietness did I enjoy my soul, after I was free from the fears of my slander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge!"

About the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London

and Gravesend; from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for after that time, till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights: but a submission to his will that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia, (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) "That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers though he denied the Church the benefit of them, as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts, and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" And being answered that they were; his reply was, "Then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul, (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other,) came to him, and, after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it

was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and, after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company; and then the Doctor gave him and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch that the Doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to require his present thoughts. To which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in Heaven; and oh! that it might be so on earth!" After which words, he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations; and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near: and though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord, shew mercy to me; for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits, who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it: let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done." With which expression he fell into a

dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery: yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me: my conscience beareth me this witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the Church more service; but cannot hope it, for my days are past as a shadow that returns not." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom. Let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most noble army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory, than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean-time, *Bless, O Lord! Lord, bless his brethren, the Clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation; for these will bring peace at the last. And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed, when he undertook them: which was, glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy Church, and goodwill to mankind. Amen, Amen.*

IZAAK WALTON.

This following Epitaph was long since presented to the World, in memory of Mr. HOOKER, *by Sir* WILLIAM COWPER, *who also built him a fair Monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual Father.*

THOUGH nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious HOOKER; though this cost be spent
On him, that hath a lasting monument
In his own books; yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church-ceremonies he maintain'd; then why
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, why had he none?
Yet he, that lay so long obscurely low,
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise,
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, "Friend, sit up higher."

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

And now having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And first, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged: but I have so examined it, as to be confident I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument, set up at the charge of Sir William Cowper, in Borne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there

said to be in anno 1603; but doubtless both are mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the Archbishop's Register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October 26, in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following*.

And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them an hundred pounds; that he left Joan, his wife, his sole executrix; and that, by his inventory his estate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant, Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it. Of which will of Mr. Hooker's I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, (of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more,) was one of the witnesses to it.

One of his eldest daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a school-master in Chichester, and are both dead long since. Margaret, his

* And the reader may take notice, that since I first writ this Appendix to the Life of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, hath shewed me a good authority for the very day and hour of Mr. Hooker's death, in one of his books of Polity, which had been Archbishop Laud's. In which book, beside many considerable marginal notes of some passages of his time, under the Bishop's own hand, there is also written in the title-page of that book (which now is Mr. Fulman's) this attestation:

"Richardus Hooker vir summis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de Ecclesia præcipue Anglicana optime meritus, obiit Novemb. 2. circiter horam secundam postmeridianam, Anno 1600.

youngest daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Charke, Bachelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron in Sussex. She left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not; but very far from abounding. And these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a sister by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable. And for his wife, she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage; for which, doubtless, she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books; concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself, or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597; and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight: but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker and the affairs of his family, that, about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop

Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his Chaplains to enquire of Mrs. Hooker, for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her husband: of which she would not, or could not, give any account: and that about three months after that time the Bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's Council, concerning the disposal of those books: but, by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Bishop invited her to Lambeth, and after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Charke, and another Minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings: and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, that they were writings not fit to be seen; and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer, (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker,) who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity —this Dr. Spencer, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's handwriting, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books, (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno

1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful books to be the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker,) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer: in which epistle the reader may find these words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three books.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books, yet he held out with with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old imperfect mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow: but being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are; the learned will find in them some shadows and resemblances of their father's face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for messengers of peace: so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and, by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars.

"J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this Epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the per-

fect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer in the said Epistle, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose: "That her husband had made up or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge that they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, then Bishop of London, and that she did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts; and I know that these were to be found in several places; as namely, Sir Thomas Bodley's Library; in that of Dr. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton; in the late Lord Conway's; in the Archbishop of Canterbury's; and in the Bishop of Armagh's; and in many others: and most of these pretended to be the Author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime Chaplain to Dr. Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called *Clavi Trabales*, printed by Richard Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that, in his search and examination of the said Bishop's manuscripts, he found the three written books which were supposed the sixth, seventh, and eighth of Mr. Hooker's

books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and that in the said three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies: the omissions are set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

"First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmovable; even so in politic societies there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment: for sith punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth; which administration must have necessarily a fountain, that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be: therefore a well-spring, it followeth, there is, a supreme head of justice, whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but a King shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them, which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal, before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any." Here, says the Dr. it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his useful books. "I will make oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death affirm to me, he had seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there

was no mention made of the King or supreme governors being accountable to the people. This I will make oath, that that good man attested to me.

"FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books: and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned Bishop, (whose writings are so highly and justly valued,) gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, "That nothing of his that was not already printed, should be printed after his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker; and known also that our late King Charles (the martyr for the Church) valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious King: and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the pretended three books, because, in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the Long Parliament, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker, (quoting him in one of the three written books,) the King replied, "They were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books: but, however, he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, if he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five, that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observed and know; which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself; but so as to

leave others the same liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's: and it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer, in the design and manage of these books; so also, and chiefly, with his dear pupil, George Cranmer, (whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer,) of which this following letter may be a testimony, and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added.

J. W.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

GEORGE CRANMER'S

LETTER TO MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

February, 1598.

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning Church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part savoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course; many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow: * one man alone there was to speak of, (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation,) who, in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which, by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented, wherein God hath made good unto him his own im-

* John Whitgift, the Archbishop.

press, *Vincit qui patitur:* for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed; their judgments begin to sway on the other side: the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which did mightily and violently possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, it lost that reputation, which before it had gained. As by the outside of an house the passers by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within; so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of master-workmen and chief-builders thereof: they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences, and they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: so as now the discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop, and hang down her head.

The cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first de-

gree was only some small difference about the cap and surplice; but not such as either bred division in the Church, or tended to the ruin of the government established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment. In defence of them, volumes were published in English and in Latin: yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin; in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed: 1. That whereas T. C. and others his great masters had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing, (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible,) the State Ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired by all the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, by acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his Church; as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how

low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of contumely, and slander they were at length proceeded; and were also likely to proceed further.

A further degree of outrage was also in fact: certain * prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a peas-cart in Cheapside, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter: "Such and such are men unworthy to govern; pluck them down: such and such are the dear children of God; let them be advanced."

Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration: yet so, that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any man doubt of what society they were; or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned; let these points be considered. 1. Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantic passion? whose sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require? and when they were in, whose appro-

* Hacket and Coppinger.

bation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by prayer did they request? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand aloof of, and see the end of it, as being loath to quench that spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof although their ancestors, the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet, by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them: for if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. That, because we have no Church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without civil authority they are to erect a Church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose, will follow: for if above all things men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the Church there be no salvation; it followeth, that, if we have no Church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary; as also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit Church, are to associate themselves unto some Church; not to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences

being this, "That in our Church there is no means of salvation," is out of the reformers' principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. *Ergo.*

Again, (but this reason perhaps is weak,) every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ: the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Gospel, and yet by our Church resisted. *Ergo.*

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the Church: by which term *essentially*, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments, wherewith they may be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion, (for all the premises are their own, or rather ingeniously to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built. What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but, above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for aught I see) the most unanswerable. You may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins: but until that be done, they must give us leave to

think that *they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.*

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who, perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority; and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed; are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is distraction; their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the Clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable, and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among Ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches, and Bishops' livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the Church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil State more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, that they are not able to apprehend many things at once; so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, "That men of learning, and specially of the Clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, to matters of State;" contrary to the practice of all

well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them; namely, *the cursed crew of Atheists.* This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched: but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; namely, *senseless preaching,* and *disgracing of the ministry:* for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason, nor by authority of persons, is maintained? But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the *seat of scorners,* nor what the Apostles, by foretelling of *scorners to come;* for our own age hath verified their speech unto us: which also may be an argument against these scoffers and atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford: which could not be done by any other spirit, save that whereunto things

future and present are alike. And evenfor the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, *Where is the promise of his coming?* Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken, the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of atheism is *sensuality,* which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they therefore whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct, no doubt, of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion their own atheism is a very strong argument. For were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no not so much as to dispute against Heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists; against whom although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confede-

rates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation! Which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open an advantage for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did so often overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connection I leave to yourself) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these: 1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended, yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose: for what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders therefore presently authorized? or their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in Church-government, they are many ways faulty, 1. In their end, which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed but by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present. So in all causes belonging either to Church or Commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, *Why may not men speak against abuses?* Yes; but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuse as impious; which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, this must give place, because a better may be devised: because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we

compare those things which are in devise with those which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all, (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged,) they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the state Ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the Civil state: for personal faults, what can be said against the Church, which may not also agree to the Commonweath? In both, statesmen have always been, and will be always, men; sometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted by passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both: many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses, which they pretend to be in the laws themselves; when they inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the Civil state, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himself continually remaining in the south? He that hath an office let him attend his office. When they condemn plurality of livings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of the infinity of temporal promotions? By the great philosopher, *Pol.* lib. ii. cap. 9, it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to commonwealths, that by the same man many great offices should be exercised. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of justice, are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God as being a cruel ceremony? against the passover, as being ridiculous—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude: you may exhort the Clergy, (or what if you direct your conclusion not to the Clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both Universities?) you may exhort them to a due consi-

deration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know; of a minister to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted to *preach Christ Crucified*, the *mortification of the flesh*, the *renewing of the Spirit*; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but (passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

G. C.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL ✱ THE TANJORE

THE

LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

INTRODUCTION.

In a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story: and more particularly of what had passed betwixt our blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possest with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed to charm and ensnare amorous beholders. But I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passionately kissed the feet of her's and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that beside that blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body to putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctioned love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his gospel should be read;

intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content, (at least to myself,) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory, of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives. And though Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it; and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

THE

LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and country: that castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of Herberts, who had long possessed it; and with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours: a family, that hath been blest with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent. But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, Knt. the son of Richard Herbert, Knt. the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis

Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knt. and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's Household: a family, that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

The mother of George Herbert (of whose person, and wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons and three daughters, which she would often say was *Job's number,* and *Job's distribution;* and as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes, or in their reason: and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and after many years useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent ambassador resident to the then French King, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at Court: so that upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the Duke, and all the Court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him first Baron of Castle-Island, and not long after of Cherbury in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book De Veritate, and by

his History of the Reign of King Henry VIII. and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who, being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain, or tutor to him and two of his brothers, in her own family, (for she was then a widow,) where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned

languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a King's scholar) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Master of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge; where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother; and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell, that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education, as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did, at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care:

yet she continued there with him, and still kept in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily: but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child; but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content: for she would often say, " That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we feed; so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company:" and would therefore as often say, " That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue; and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning." For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that University; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne, who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London: and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind: of the first he says,

> No spring nor summer beauty has such grace,
> As I have seen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he says,

> In all her words to every hearer fit,
> You may at revels, or at council sit.

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that Elegy which bears the name of *The Autumnal Beauty.* For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias; whom, in his letters, he calls his Saint: or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such, that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph; "wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity." And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age, (which was some years before he entered into sacred orders;) a time, when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children and a family. And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM,

"Your favours to me are every where; I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Micham. Such riddles as these become things inexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning. But my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she

loved most; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one, to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they, whom we need most, have of us. By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire) to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

"Your unworthiest servant,
"Unless your accepting him to be so
"have mended him,

Micham, July 11, 1607. "JO. DONNE."

TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT, OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo,
An active faith so highly did advance,
That she once knew more than the Church did know,
The resurrection; so much good there is
Deliver'd of her, that some Fathers be
Loth to believe one woman could do this;
But think these Magdalens were two or three.
Increase their number Lady, and their fame:
To their devotion add your innocence:
Take so much of th' example, as of the name;
The latter half; and in some recompense
That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,
Harbour these hymns, to his dear name addrest.

J. D.

These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless hey were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the riendship, and the many sacred endearments be-

twixt these two excellent persons, (for I have many of their letters in my hand,) and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety: but my design was not to write hers, but the life of her son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish-church of Chelsea, near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were, in the first year of his going to Cambridge, sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

—"But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say the Muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems, that are daily writ, and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear mother) is, in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory; and I beg you to receive this as one testimony."

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
  Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
  Besides their other flames? Doth Poetry
Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?

Why are not sonnets made of thee? and lays
  Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
  Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
As well as any she? Cannot thy Dove
Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?
  Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
  Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name?
Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
  Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
  Than that, which one day warms may chance refuse?
Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
  Oceans of ink; for as the deluge did
  Cover the earth, so doth thy Majesty;
Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid
Poets to turn it to another use.
  Roses and lilies speak thee; and to make
  A pair of cheeks of them, is thy abuse.
Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind
  Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
  To praise, and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
  In the best face but filth; when Lord, on thee
  The beauty lies, in the discovery.

G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man: insomuch that, in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of Heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the Clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore

only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the college, March 15, 1615: and, that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven, before he possessed them." And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company; by which he confirmed his native gentleness: and if during this time he expressed any error, it was, that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and patronage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time, till he was Master of Arts, which was anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was chosen Orator for the University. His two precedent Orators were Sir Robert Nanton, and Sir Francis Nethersoll. The first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis, not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety, as any had ever before or since his time. For, "he had acquired great learning, and was blessed with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen." Of all which there might be very

many particular evidences; but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for his employment of Orator was manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that University his book called *Basilicon Doron;* and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension; at the close of which letter he writ,

"Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
"Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber."

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he enquired the Orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was, "That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue, than for that he was of his name and family. At which answer the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave, "that he might love him too, for he took him to be the jewel of that University."

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities, was, with them, to shew also his great affection to that Church in which he received his baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch Church, and rector of St. Andrew's; who, by a long and constant converse with a discontented part of that Clergy which opposed episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but King of that nation, who, the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the Bishops, and other learned Divines of his Church,

to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: of which Scotch party Andrew Melvin was one; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious, bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our Church-government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert, then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflection on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.—But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court conference; he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrew's and his liberty too; for his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London; where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending, the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these.

> Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Ara-
> Bella; tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him, Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and

caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations, and the applauses of an Orator; which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the King's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found the Orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great Secretary of Nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, (Lord Verulam,) and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our Orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed; and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the Prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned Bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination, and sanctity of life; of both which the Orator did, not long after, send the Bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason

of it, that, after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne; but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death he caused many seals to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor, (the emblem of hope,) and of which Dr. Donne would often say, "Crux mihi anchora."—These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal, which was by the Doctor given to him;

When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this seal and so gave o'er.

When winds and waves rise highest I am sure,
This anchor keeps my faith, *that* me secure.

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the King's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court Nobility. This, and the love of a court-conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge, to attend the King wheresoever the court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of

St. Asaph. It was the same that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite, Sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his Oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now Prebend of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the University, and decline all study, which he thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too thoughtful a wit; a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the University, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bear the title of "Affliction;" and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says,

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
  The way that takes the town;
Thou didst betray me to a ling'ring book,
  And wrapt me in a gown.
I was entangled in a world of strife,
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threaten'd oft the siege to raise,
Not simp'ring all mine age;
Thou often didst with academic praise
Melt and dissolve my rage:
I took the sweeten'd pill, till I came where
I could not go away, nor persevere.

Yet lest perchance I should too happy be
In my unhappiness,
Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me
Into more sicknesses.
Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
None of my books will show.
I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade, at least, some bird would trust
Her household with me, and I would be just.

Yet though thou troublest me, I must be meek,
In weakness must be stout.
Well, I will change my service, and go seek
Some other master out.
Ah, my dear God! though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him King James died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court-hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent,

where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health, more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court-life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him.) These were such conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside: but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did, at his return to London, acquaint a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly judged that the domestic servants of the King of heaven should be of the noblest families on earth. And though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible; yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him, that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution; and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it, for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time then made Deacon, is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebend of Layton Eccle-

sia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that see. And now he had a fit occasion to shew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish-church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it; but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he, by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it; and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands; being, for the workmanship, a costly Mosaic; for the form, an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish-church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation."

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made Prebend, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was like to draw upon himself, his relations and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him

from London to Chelsea, (where she then dwelt,) and, at his coming, said, "George, I sent for you, to persuade you to commit Simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given to you; namely, that you give him back his prebend; for, George, it is not for your weak body, and empty purse, to undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day's time to consider, and then make her an answer. And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, "That she would at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an undutiful son; for he had made a vow to God, that, if he were able, he would rebuild that Church." And then shewed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother, Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten; for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer, I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but, before I proceed farther, I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man, that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them, and considered that there be many discontents, that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself, as to desire of wealth. And having attained so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence

for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful to his friends; and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was a useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A Letter of Mr. GEORGE HERBERT *to his Mother, in her Sickness.*

"MADAM,

"At my last parting from you, I was the better content because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family: but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our Commencement: wherein my absence, by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time, I beseech

you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin.—What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and I hope kept heavenly ones for yourself: but would you divide and choose too? Our college customs allow not that: and I should account myself most happy, if I might change with you; for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles and encumbrances. Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up, and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem.—For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death, because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children, that they have attained to the years of discretion, and competent maintenance. So that now, if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience; insomuch that, whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be! since, if we had riches, we are commanded to give

them away: so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: but, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find 'Blessed be the rich,' or 'Blessed be the noble;' but, *Blessed be the meek*, and, *Blessed be the poor*, and, *Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.*—And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed.—And for afflictions of the body, dear madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures, as the very mention of them might beget amazement: but their fiery trials have had an end; and yours (which, praised be God, are less,) are not like to continue long. I beseech you, let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know, that if any of yours should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you may say with David, *That God, who hath delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.*—Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul; consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief; or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor.—And, above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist: *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee**. To which join that of St. Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you†.* What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us, that we may the more

* Psal. lv. † 1 Pet. v. 7.

quietly intend his service!—To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you: Philip. iv. 4. St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in the Lord always: and again I say, rejoice.* He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, What, shall we rejoice in afflictions? Yes, I say again, rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice, or not rejoice; but, whatsoever befals us, we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verses: *Let your moderation appear to all men: The Lord is at hand: Be careful for nothing.* What can be said more comfortably? Trouble not yourselves; God is at hand, to deliver us from all, or in all.—Dear madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

"Your most obedient son,

"GEORGE HERBERT."

Trin. Coll. May 25, 1622.

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience: but Lord, I repine not;

I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end. And his remove was to Dantsey in Wiltshire, a noble house, which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it, as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness. And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother, and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.

He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very strait, and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful,

and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, Esq. This Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters, (for he had so many,) but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter. And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing: and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but, alas! her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dantsey: yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city; and love having got such possession, governed, and made there such laws and resolutions, as neither party was able to resist; insomuch that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrenzy, or worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like princes, as to have select proxies; such as were true friends to both parties, such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview,

that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence; and the more, because it proved so happy to both parties; for the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections, and compliance; indeed, so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the others desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long after translated to Winchester, and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke, (who was the undoubted patron of it,) but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: but Philip, then Earl of Pembroke, (for William was lately dead,) requested the King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance;" and the Earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him, without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month: in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood, and that living. And in this time of considering, "he endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend, Mr. Arthur Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton, (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations,) and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl, and the whole court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why: but that night, the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did: and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately, (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before,) and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630,) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, parsonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story, of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it: a life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past

for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not; and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now. But it becomes not me to censure: my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell, (as the law requires him,) he staid so much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar; at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot, "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for. And I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary painted pleasures; pleasures, that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God, and his service, is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependents to a love and reliance on him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the virtuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that

see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions; so he will, by his assisting grace, give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect. And I beseech him, that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my master and governor; and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe, and obey, and do his will; and always call him, Jesus my master; and I will always contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus my master."

And that he did so, may appear in many parts of his book of Sacred Poems; especially in that which he calls *The Odour*. In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word *Jesus*, and say, that the adding these words, *my master*, to it, and the often repetition of them, seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place of his poems, *The Pearl*, (Matth. xiii.) to rejoice and say—" He knew the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly, and what, when it is forced by fire; knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions; knew the court; knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his master Jesus;" and then concludes, saying,

"That, through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
"But thy silk twist, let down from heaven to me,
"Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
"To climb to thee."

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat, he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchase by her obliging humility; and I am sure, places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald, as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife, as to assure him, it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places, as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house; namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind: but after she had spoke some

few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mother; be not afraid to speak to me; for I am a man that will hear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able: and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire." After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, "He would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care." And having with patience heard and understood her wants, (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience,) he, like a Christian clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected, that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman: and with them a message, "That she would see and be acquainted with her, when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related: but I shall first tell, that he hasted to get the parish-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel, (which stands near his house,) and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely,

and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall.

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost;
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee store,
And then my labour's not lost.

We will now, by the reader's favour, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned at his own great charge, (which is a real truth;) and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour, both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton: but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time, the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Hinchman, now Lord Bishop of London, who (does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, "He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and, alas! within less than three years lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest, as he intended to be, ought to observe; and that time might not

insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this year's resolutions; he therefore did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book, called, *The Country Parson*; in which some of his rules are:

The Parson's knowledge.
The Parson on Sundays.
The Parson praying.
The Parson preaching.
The Parson's charity.
The Parson comforting the sick.
The Parson arguing.
The Parson condescending.
The Parson in his journey.
The Parson in his mirth.
The Parson with his Churchwardens.
The Parson blessing the people.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these, and the other holy rules set down in that useful book: a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that country parson, that can spare twelve-pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oly, who published it with a most conscientious and excellent preface; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text of his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, *Keep thy heart with all diligence.* In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man; and delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence: but, at the close of this ermon, told them, "That should not behis constant

way of preaching; for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but that, for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, "That they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechising:" and shewed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which, God knows, were not many) were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the Gospel, or to the Epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our Church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the Church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with *confession of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners;* and that we begin so, because, till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed; and hoping, that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, *to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise;* for till then we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, *Glory be to the Father, and to the*

Son, and to the Holy Ghost; and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our Church-service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past, and such a composition of prayers and praises, as ought to be repeated often, and publicly; for *with such sacrifices God is honoured and well pleased*. This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up, and express their gratitude to Almighty God, for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, *That their souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their Saviour*: and that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, *That their eyes have also seen their salvation*; for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they live to see it daily in the history of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God, for that particular mercy. A service, which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin, and Simeon, and all those blessed Saints that are possessed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God; glory be to God on high, and on earth peace.* And he taught them, that to do this was an

acceptable service to God, because the prophet David says in his Psalms, *He that praiseth the Lord honoureth him.*

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God, for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath* (in our days) *visited and redeemed his people; and* (he hath in our days) *remembered, and shewed that mercy, which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promised to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made with them.* And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it, in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his and our Father: and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed his people.*—These were some of the reasons, by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the Church-service.

He informed them also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation, and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him; as namely, after the repetition of the Creed, before he proceeds to

pray the Lord's Prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, *The Lord be with you:* and when they pray for him, saying, *And with thy spirit;* and then they join together in the following collects: and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the Church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also, that as by the second Commandment we are required not to bow down, or worship an idol, or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter Creed, or Doxology, so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that *the God that they trusted in was one God, and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to whom they and the priest gave glory.* And because there had been heretics that had denied some of those three persons to be God,

therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, *It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end.* And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, *Amen.*

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holidays and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as the Rev. Mr. Hooker says) to be the land-marks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how times passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March; a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that *she should conceive and bear a son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind.* And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas; a day in which we commemorate his Birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his Circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year's day: and that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: and that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the temple; namely, on that day which we call, "The purification of the blessed Virgin, St. Mary." And he instructed them, that by the

Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity: and that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his crucifixion; and at Easter commemorate his glorious resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be *that Christ that was crucified, dead and buried;* and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, *that though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter;* and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitsunday.—Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times, as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises, for the particular blessings which we do or might receive by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels, were to be read at the Altar, or Communion Table; why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some collects standing: and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise, which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it:—but I have done, when I have told the reader, that he was constant in catechising every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his

half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that huddle up the church-prayers, without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's prayer, or a collect, in a breath. But for himself, his custom was, to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice; which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family, twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four: and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only *his own household thus to serve the Lord;* but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day; and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's Saints-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to

God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form, and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—*Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom, where impurity cannot enter.*

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: and though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his time spent in prayer, and cathedral-music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others; of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman, that is still living in that city; and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused,

if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this the rather, because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes, that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh."

After which expression, Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him, and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister; and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say,

"One cure for these distempers would be, for the Clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious Clergy.

"And another cure would be, for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechising, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally, that the Clergy themselves would be sure to live unblamably; and that the dignified Clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives; for this would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew him to be such." (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.)

"This," said Mr. Herbert, "would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, this only that must do it; and till then the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load: they were both in distress, and needed present help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "That if he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast." Thus he left the poor man: and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, which used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed: but he told them the occasion. And when one of the company told him, "He had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment," his answer was, "That he thought of what he had done would prove music to him at midnight; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place: for if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul, or shewing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let us tune our instruments."

Thus, as our blessed Saviour, after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleophas, and that other disciple, which he met with

and accompanied in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for she rejoiced in the employment: and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity.—And for his own, he set no limits to it: nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them; especially his poor neighbours; to the meanest of whose houses he would go, and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully, if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "He would not see the danger of want so far off; but being the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith; and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come: being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity, and that, being all my tithes and church-dues are a *deodate* from thee, O my God; make me,

O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir," said he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death; and therefore, as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said, "his life could not be better spent, than in the service of his master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him. But," said he, "I will not be wilful; for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow; and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music-meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer, (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him

sudden payment,) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Friern Barnet in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet: but at his seeing Mr. Duncon he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness enquired the health of his brother Farrer; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him: and after some discourse of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me:" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, "What prayers?" To which Mr. Herbert's answer was, "O, Sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England: no other prayers are equal to them. But at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint:" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper, and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest. This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that, at his first view of Mr. Herbert, he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and say, "his discourse was so pious, and his motion so genteel and meek, that after almost forty years, yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days; and he did so: but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called "Saint Nicholas" at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare-hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age he betook himself to travel: in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world; and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself Catholic: but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year; the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, "a nothing between two dishes," did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death. And his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting

and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used; and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints' days: and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity; none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God; and it was in this manner;—He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a Deacon) every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor. And he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house. And many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns, or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ringing of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and here betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the

day: and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight; and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the Psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter, or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family serve God day and night. Thus did they always behave themselves as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God. And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the Clergy, that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Farrer and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church, or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour, which had a fire in it; and the parlour was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor

neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Farrer's commending the Considerations of John Valdesso (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English,) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it; and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars: and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, "because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying." The Emperor had himself, for the same or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: but God and himself did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse; which Valdesso promised to do.

In the mean time the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again; and, after

a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly; and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach a sermon of "contempt of the world," and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon, the Emperor took occasion to declare openly, "That the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life." And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like: but this is most certain, that after the Emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer. And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso writ his Hundred and Ten Considerations, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Farrer and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him; and therefore their discourse could not be long: but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray you give my brother Farrer an acount of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me: and let him know, that I have considered, *that God only is what he would be*; and that I am, by his grace, become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him: and tell him, that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want of health: and tell him, my heart is fixed on

that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom. Desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of *The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations;* of which Mr. Farrer would say, "There was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambride to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses,

> Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand,

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them. But after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had

many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet: but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I licence the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert, (which was about three weeks before his death,) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebends of the cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces, (then a part of his family,) and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) *make my bed also in the dark;* and I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him that I am not to learn patience now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it: and this being past, I shall dwell in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men

made perfect; dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour Jesus; and with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends. But I must die, or not come to that happy place. And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it; and that every day which I have lived hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for having lived this and the day past." These, and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And every string
Shall have his attribute to sing.

And having tuned it, he played and sung:

The Sundays of man's life,
Threaded together on time's string,
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious King:
On Sundays heaven's door stands ope;
Blessings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope.

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Farrer, now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned, and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence, and be no more seen."

Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy. To which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him, whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble, and observed him to fall into a sudden agony; which so surprized her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did. To which his answer was, "That he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him by the merits of his master Jesus." After which answer, he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "if they loved him to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply; but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, Sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it: I do not desire you to be just; for I know you will be so

for your own sake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die." After which words, he said, "Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me; but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus. And now, Lord—Lord, now receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died, like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation:

——All must to their cold graves:
But the religious actions of the just
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations.—I have but this to say more of him; that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

Iz. Wa.

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself, and complaining, that she

had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart! But since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is I may be also." And she would often say, (as the prophet David for his son Absalom,) "O that I had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight. And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "that name must live in her memory till she put off mortality." By Sir Robert she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-stone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public; but they and Highnam House were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

AT HIS BEING AT CAMBRIDGE.

Mr. GEORGE HERBERT *to* N. F. *the Translator of* Valdesso.

MY dear and deserving brother, your *Valdesso* I now return with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care which I forbear not in the midst of my griefs; first for your sake, because I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; secondly for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God; and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence: thirdly for the Church's sake, to whom, by printing it, I would have you consecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he sent the fish with money to St. Peter) to discharge it; happily also with this (as his thoughts are fruitful) intending the honour of his servant the author, who being obscured in his own country, he would have to flourish in this land of light, and region of the Gospel among his chosen. It is true, there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express, when you read them: nevertheless, I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: First, that God in the midst of popery should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the intent of the Gospel in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness, (as he

sheweth through all his considerations,) a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where bears towards our dear Master and Lord; concluding every consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously; for which I do so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof; of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive) towards the publishing thereof.

From his parsonage of
Bemerton, near Salisbury,
Sept. 29, 1632.

To Sir J. D.

SIR,

THOUGH I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tire me to find out variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so; but I profess it not; and therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses, but a constancy of obedience; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for since your favours came a horseback, there is reason that my desires should go afoot: neither do I make any

question, but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me; and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

For my dear sick Sister.

MOST DEAR SISTER,

THINK not my silence forgetfulness; or that my love is as dumb as my papers: though businesses may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you; and, which is more, with our good and gracious God incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness that becomes your griefs, and my love. God, who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my soliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you: judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value

Your most truly, most heartily affectionate brother, and servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Dec. 6, 1620.
TRIN. COL.

SIR,

I DARE no longer be silent, lest, while I think I am modest, I wrong both myself, and also the confidence my friends have in me: wherefore I will open my case unto you which I think deserves the read-

ing at the least; and it is this; I want books extremely. You know, Sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life: and shall I then be fain always to borrow books and build on another's foundation? What tradesman is there, who will set up without his tools? Pardon my boldness, Sir; it is a most serious case; nor can I write coldly in that, wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that Spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and of achieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say, if I had taken ill courses: "Follow your book, and you shall want nothing." You know, Sir, it is their ordinary speech ;and now let them make it good; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let them not deceive mine. But perhaps they will say, "You are sickly; you must not study too hard." It is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so, but that every day I may step one step towards my journey's end: and I love my friends so well, as that, if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault should lie on me than on them. But they will object again; "What becomes of your annuity?" Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet recovered; so that I am fain ever and anon to buy somewhat tending towards my health, for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and white meats. Out of Lent also, twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air: all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters, if I should fall absolutely sick. I protest and vow, I even study

thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other. And yet if a book of four or five shillings comes in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of ten shillings. But, alas, Sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell, and grow bigger? Noble Sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things: First, the bulk of divinity: Secondly, the time when I desire this; (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life:) Thirdly, what I desire and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor a vain end. If then, Sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, Sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, Sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason, by the patents of your perpetual favour, to do so still, for I am sure you love

March 18, 1617. Your faithfullest servant,
TRIN. COLL.

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

THIS week hath loaded me with your favours: I wish I could have come in person to thank you; but it is not possible. Presently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole University of an hour long in Latin; and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behind-hand: neither can I so much as go to Bugden. and deliver your letter; yet I have sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you all, you and my dear mother and sister, to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tie me here, than yours to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr. Nethersole for me: he and I are ancient acquaintance; and I have a strong opi-

nion of him, that if he can do me a courtesy, he will of himself; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a letter from our master in my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the University's inclination to me: yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The Orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the University, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about thirty pounds per ann. But the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the Orator writes all the University-letters, makes all the orations, be it to King, Prince or whatever comes to the University. To requite these pains, he takes place next the Doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the Proctors; is Regent or Non-regent at his pleasure; and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis. I pray, Sir, send the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see, that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble Sir, I thank you for your infinite favours; I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance; yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so, but that I have both time and work to be

Your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

I HAVE received the things you sent me safe; and now the only thing I long for is, to hear of my dear sick sister; first, how her health fares; next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy as to hear of both these, that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good Sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son, and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eye-sight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her: when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the Orator's place all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tried, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands: your courtesy will pardon the haste of

Your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Jan. 19, 1619.
TRIN. COLL.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by Sir Francis Nethersole's letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cause, he thinks I aim. But I have wrote him back, that this dignity hath no such earthiness in it, but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for aught I yet knew; and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next letter. I pray, Sir, therefore, cause this inclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name, (as I think,) at the sign of the Pedlar

and the Pack on London-bridge for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my Lord, or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly: though for the reckoning of your favours I shall never find time and paper enough, yet I am

Your readiest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Oct. 6, 1619.
TRIN. COLL.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode two hundred miles to see a sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.

To the truly Noble Sir J. D.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by a letter from my brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pounds upon her; which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herself, but upon the want of those books which were not to be got in England. For that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather fly to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I entered into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surplusage of these books, and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a bur-

den to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon

Your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused.

I pray, Sir, pardon my boldness of inclosing my brother's letter in yours; for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

MR. JOHN DONNE,

TO HIS MOTHER

THE

LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT.

To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. Magdalen Herbert.

MADAM,

EVERY excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation; and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing; By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold; so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, neither of your goings, nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnace to discover; and the entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties must follow; whose employment is more honourable than that which our State meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that country, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treasure, and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a puritan, as Cæsar was to his wife. I can as ill endure a suspicious and misinterpretable word as a fault. But remember, that nothing is flattery which the speaker believes; and of the grossest flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But, Madam, you are beyond instruc-

tion, and therefore there can belong to you only praise; of which though you be no good hearer, yet allow all my letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulness towards you.

Your unworthiest servant,
Except your accepting
have mended him,
JOHN DONNE.

MICHIN,
July 11, 1607.

To the worthiest Lady, Mrs Magdalen Herbert.

MADAM,

THIS is my second letter, in which though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst, that I must be a great part of it; yet to me, that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. After I knew you were gone, (for I must little less than accusingly, tell you, I knew not you would go,) I sent my first letter, like a Bevis of Hampton, to seek adventures. This day I came to town, and to the best part of it, your house; for your memory is a state-cloth and presence; which I reverence, though you be away: though I need not seek that there, which I have about and within me. There though I found my accusation, yet any thing, to which your hand is, is a pardon: yet I would not burn my first letter, because as in great destiny no small passage can be omitted or frustrated; so, in my resolution of writing almost daily to you, I would have no link of the chain broke by me, both because my letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight. If I had your commission and instructions to do you the service of a lieger ambassador here, I could say something of the Countess of Devon; of the States, and such

things. But since to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world yourself, nothing can be added, especially by me; I will sustain myself with the honour of being

Your servant extraordinary,
and without place,
JOHN DONNE.

London,
July 23, 1607.

To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. Magdalen Herbert.

Madam,

As we must die before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a letter, I must also die, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the Court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it. Not that the greatest virtue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal, as to defeat or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themselves, when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet, Madam, you are not such an Ireland, as produceth neither ill, nor good; no spiders, nor nightingales: which is a rare degree of perfection. But you have found and practised that experiment, that even nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abstain from it was therefore but the childhood and minority of your soul, which had been long exercised since, in your manlier active part of doing good. Of which since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness, as to be

thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgment of impotency and infirmity.

Your Ladyship's in all services,

August 2, 1607. JOHN DONNE.

On Mr George Herbert's *Book, entitled,* The Temple of Sacred Poems, *sent to a Gentlewoman.*

Know you Fair, on what you look?
Divinest love lies in this book;
Expecting fire from your eyes,
To kindle this his sacrifice.
When your hands untie these strings,
Think you've an angel by the wings:
One that gladly will be nigh,
To wait upon each morning sigh;
To flutter in the balmy air
Of your well-perfumed prayer.
These white plumes of his he'll lend you,
Which every day to heaven will send you,
To take acquaintence of the sphere,
And all the smooth-fac'd kindred there.
And though Herbert's name do owe
These devotions, Fairest; know
That while I lay them on the shrine
Of your white hand, they are mine.

To the Right Honourable the Lady Anne, Countess of Pembr. *and* Montg. *at Court.*

Madam,

What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services! Now they creep in a vessel of metheglin, and still they will be presenting or wishing to see, if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands, at which they aim. In the mean time a priest's bless-

ing, though it be none of the court-style, yet doubtless, Madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers, and tears, to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your soul to his glory, your own good, and the great joy of,

Madam,

Your most faithful servant

in Christ Jesu,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Dec. 10, 1631.
BEMERTON.

Madam, your poor colony of servants present their humble duties.

UTTARPARA JOYKRISHNA PUBLIC LIBRARY (stamp)

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

THE

LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE

GEORGE

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

PRELATE OF THE GARTER,

AND ONE OF

HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

If I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I should enter upon an employment, that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sanderson. But though I will not venture to do that; yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to outlive him; and farther from an intention to write his Life. But the wise Disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your Lordship (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a desire that it may remain as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,

Your most affectionate old friend,

and most humble servant,

IZAAK WALTON.

PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor assure the reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderson; but I am sure there is none that are either wilful, or very material. I confess, it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity, as to undertake it. For it may be noted, that our Saviour hath had such care, that, for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten. And doubtless Dr. Sanderson's meek and innocent life, his great and useful learning, might therefore challenge the like endeavours to preserve his memory: and it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But, in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others, (I am far from that,) but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it. This being premised, I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions: and if I have erred in this kind, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me; yet I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further

trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to begin, and so many willing informers since, and from them, and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint, and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden myself, and ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and presented to the reader, and with it this desire; that he will take notice, that Dr. Sanderson did in his will or last sickness advertise, that after his death nothing of his might be printed; because "that might be said to be his, which indeed was not;" and also for that "he might have changed his opinion since he first writ it." And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in that case of conscience concerning rash vows; that there may appear very good second reasons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do apocryphal Scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; that as, in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's Life, I met with these little tracts annexed; so in my former queries for my information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker. I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader *. It is affirmed, (and I have met with reason to believe it,) that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn. And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when,

* This Sermon of Mr. Hooker's, and the Tracts above mentioned, excepting the *Oxford Reasons*, are omitted in this edition.

and the occasions upon which, they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, I am now glad that I have collected these memoirs, which lay scattered, and contracted them into a narrow compass; and if I have, by the pleasant toil of doing so, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I designed when I first undertook it. But I seriously wish, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderson's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by such a pen, as could have made his life as immortal, as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

THE

LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

Dr. Robert Sanderson, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose Life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainness, was born the 19th day of September in the year of our redemption 1587. The place of his birth was Rotheram in the county of York; a town of good note, and the more for that Thomas Rotheram, some time Archbishop of that see, was born in it; a man whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life, have made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great piety, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson of Gilthwait-hall, in the said parish and county, Esq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwate-hall in the parish of Ecclesfield, in the said county of York, Gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson, the father, was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the search of which truth, I refer my reader, that inclines to it to Dr. Thoroton's

History of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, and other records: not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but shew us who of our ancestors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbish of their vices ought to fall heavy on such dishonourable heads; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But our Robert Sanderson lived worthy of his name and family: of which one testimony may be, that Gilbert, called the Great Earl of Shrewsbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Shelton, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; to whose merits and memory posterity (the Clergy especially) ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then to dedicate himself, and all his studies, to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endowed his; so this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind (his being mild, and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others: and this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example; and by frequent conversing with him, and scattering short apophthegms and little pleasant stories, and making useful applications of

them, his son was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of wisdom and virtue; and by these means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether nature or education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue were by God's assisting grace blessed with that St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians; namely, *That he, that had begun a good work in them, would finish it* *. And Almighty God did: for his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death (and with truth and comfort) what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when he advised them *to walk as they had him for an example* †.

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-school of Rotheram—(that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good Bishop of that name.)—And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging a behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him, as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that school till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotheram to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster; and after a year's stay there, then to remove

* Phil. i 6. † Chap. iii. ver. 17.

him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon; and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln College. And he, after some time, and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and after to matriculate him in the University, which he did the 1st of July, 1603; but he was not chosen Fellow till the 3d of May, 1606; at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the Rector, "That his pupil Sanderson had a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory; and that he thought he had improved, or made the last so by an art of his own invention." And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not mistaken.

I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Professor of it in this University; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible: and that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company: and they going together on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend to that parish-church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part

of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words, (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie,) and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the Doctor's friend's house; where, after some other conference, the Doctor told him, "He might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions against the late translation: and for that word, for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said; he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed:" and told him, "If his friend," then attending him, "should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favour." To which Mr. Sanderson said, "He hoped he should not." And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, "He would not justify himself." And so I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608, (July the 11th,) Mr. Sanderson was completed Master of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these dignities the time was shorter than was then, or is now required: but either his birth, or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the reader is requested to believe that it was the last; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the college-records have misinformed me. But I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th) by his college chosen Reader of Logic in the house; which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen Sub-Rector of the college, and the like for the year 1614, and chose again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616.

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so connatural, as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which by God's assisting grace never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they be so called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the Proctors for the University. And it was not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the Rector and whole society, of which he was a member; who had not had a Proctor chosen out of their college for the space of sixty years; (namely, not from the year 1554 unto his standing;) and they persuaded him, that if he would but stand for Proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers; and told him, "That he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seeming dead to his college." By these and other like persuasions he yielded up his own reason to theirs, and appeared to stand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a faction, that he missed it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "That if he were troubled at the disappointment, it was for theirs, and not for his own sake; for he was far from any desire of such an employment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures, or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded

by Dr. Kilbie and others, to renew the logic lectures which he had read some years past in his college; and, that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity. But though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print; yet after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends seemed to prophesy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the Art or the Author. For logic may be said to be an "art of reasoning;" an art that undeceives men who take falsehood for truth; enables men to pass a true judgment, and detect those fallacies which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our Author was in this art, will quickly appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. He, who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first public undertaking, by hearing that most tutors in both Universities teach Dr. Sanderson's Logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in Philosophy. And, for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that, since his Book of Logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: and that it is like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a Proctor's place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averseness to run a second hazard of its credit and content: and yet he was assured by Dr. Kilbie, and the fellows of his

own college, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his Book of Logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done; and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And, upon these, and other like encouragements, he did again, but not without an inward unwillingness, yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was the 10th of April, 1616, chosen Senior Proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Cooke of Christ Church being then chosen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Balliol College and Regius Professor of Divinity, (who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before,) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese, by the heads of all houses, and the chief of all the University. And Dr. Prideaux succeeded him in the Professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642, (being then elected Bishop of Worcester,) and then our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the Regius Professorship.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sate usually with his Chancellor in his consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church-censures. And it may be noted, that, after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very warily or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence

for penance executed; and then as usually preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and did so apply them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives: and having done that, he would take them (though never so poor) to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them to believe him. And his humility and charity, and other Christian excellencies, were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in this Life, truly writ, and printed before his Sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Elsmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the Right Honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was chose to succeed him.

And in this year our late King Charles the First (then Prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the University, the Schools, Colleges, and Libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And this year King James sent letters to the University for the regulating their studies; especially of the young divines: advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the Fathers and Councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning *Predestination, Universal Redemption, the Irresistibility of God's grace*, and of some other knotty points depending upon these; points which many think were not, but by interpreters forced to be, Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being

only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the King's letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to relate and discourse upon: and that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the University; which at that time was, either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also the magisterial part of the Proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then, and others suddenly after, put into a useful execution. And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful as they were designed, till Archbishop Laud's time; (who assisted in the forming and promoting them;) yet our present Proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do: of which one example may seem worthy the noting; namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars absent from their colleges at university hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him unsent for next morning: and when they did, convinced them, with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions, as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said, *There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou shalt be feared**. And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was

* Psal. cxxx. 4.

so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy, he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose: "I look back upon my late employment with some content to myself, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this employment I have had (God knows) many occasions to do both. And when I consider how many of a contrary temper are by sudden and small occasions transported and hurried by anger to commit such errors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid, and require repentance: and consider, that though repentance secures us from the punishment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon: and consider, that errors against men, though pardoned both by God and them, do yet leave such anxious and upbraiding impressions in the memory, as abates of the offender's content:—when I consider all this, and that God hath of his goodness given me a temper, and hath prevented me from running into such enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulness. And though I cannot say with David, (I wish I could,) that therefore *his praise shall always be in my mouth**; yet I hope, that by his grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his proctorship, which is, that Gilbert

* Psal. xxxiv. 1.

Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity College in that University; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was sent after him from his god-father, (the father of our Proctor,) to let his son know it, and commend his godson to his acquaintance, and to more than a common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our Proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore apprehend the Proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his bed restless that night: but, at their meeting the next morning, that fear vanished immediately by the Proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of; of a friendship free from all self-ends: and it continued to be so, till death forced a separation of it on earth; but it is now reunited in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that, this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the matter, as hath been preached in that University since that day. And having well perfomed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of May following, having been ordained Deacon and Priest in the year 1611, by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Christ Church, and then knew him so well, that he became his most affectionate friend. And in this

year being then about the 29th of his age, he took from the University a licence to preach.

In the year 1618 he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Castleton, presented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston, in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the rectory of Boothby Pannel in the same county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than forty years parson of Boothby Pannel, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To this living (which was of less value, but a purer air than Wibberton) he was presented by Thomas Harrington, of the same county, and parish, Esq. who was a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great use and esteem in his country during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannel the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortablefriendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parson of Boothby Pannel, he resigned his fellowship of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows; and his resignation is recorded in these words:

Ego Robertus Sanderson per, &c.

"I Robert Sanderson, Fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College, in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the Rector and Fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said College, wishing to them and their successors all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"ROBERT SANDERSON."

May 6, 1619.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York, or the King, *sede vacante*, made Prebend of the collegiate church of Southwell in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that see.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannel, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a university life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country parson the more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual a content, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul *, which he would not have wanted because *they occasioned his rejoicing in them.* And he having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of

* Colos. i. 24.

their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: he having considered all this, the hopes of such happiness turned his faint furposes into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Ann, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was cheerful; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife, that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she outlived him.

And in this Boothby Pannel he either found or made his parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the decent and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron, and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietness; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised, in order to their salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For he would often say, "That, without the last, the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not, or are at least the less, effectual; and do usually rather harden than convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the church prayers, catechising, preaching, and administering the sacraments seasonably; but thought (if the Law or the

Canons may seem to enjoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He, considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, *help to bear one another's burden* *, either of sorrow or want: and what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account for that evil we have done, and the good we have omitted, to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good, one example may be, that he met with a poor dejected neighbour, that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9*l*. a year; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would bate him no rent; that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame;

* Gal. vi. 2.

people that are cursed with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderson; for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow; for he would go to his landlord next morning; and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant; telling him how much God is pleased when men compassionate the poor: and told him, that though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is pleased when called "the God of mercy." And told him, the riches he was possessed of were given him by that God of mercy, who would not be pleased, if he, that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich steward in the Gospel, *that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing.* This he told him: and told him, that the law of this nation (by which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men honest or merciful; but does what it can to restrain men from being dishonest or unmerciful, and yet was defective in both: and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich steward which he had mentioned to him; and told him that riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job says, *prove like gravel in his teeth,* would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able: and therefore advised him, being very rich, to make friends of his *unrighteous Mammon,* before that evil day come upon him: but however, neither

for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any rent of his poor, dejected, sad tenant; for that were to gain a temporal, and lose his eternal happiness. These and other such reasons were urged with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and we believe, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, *that he had seen none perish for want of clothing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice**. And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions. But, since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory, (even the art of it,) yet he had such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his

* Job xxxi.

sermons as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when they were first printed and exposed to censure, (which was in the year 1632,) "that the best sermons that were ever read, were never preached."

In this contented obscurity he continued till the learned and good Archbishop Laud, who knew him well in Oxford, (for he was his contemporary there,) told the King, (it was the knowing and conscientious King Charles the First,) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his Majesty would make him his Chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the Bishop charge to hasten it, for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The Bishop forgot not the King's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following, 1631. And when they became known to each other, the King did put many cases of conscience to him, and received from him such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him great content in conversing with him: so that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him, "he should long for the next November; for he resolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him, when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers; but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the King thought what he spake: for he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King, (which was 1625,) he was chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln; which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin's, though others say they were before his time. But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up, for his own satisfaction, such a scheme (he called it *Pax Ecclesiæ*) as then gave himself, and hath since given others such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation among the most learned. He was also chosen clerk of all the convocations during that good King's reign. Which I here tell my reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that convocation in 1640, the unhappy Long Parliament, and some debates of the predestination point as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend Dean of Salisbury.

In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities. But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither Dr. Sanderson did attend him, and was then (the 31st of August) created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Masters of Arts with him: some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall outlive it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then Bishops of Winton and of Norwich, (and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his university. So was Meric the son of the learned Isaac Casau-

bon; and Prince Rupert, who still lives, the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford, Earl of Essex, of Berkshire, and very many others of noble birth (too many to be named) were then created Masters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, (though inwardly sick of being well,) namely in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots Church were zealously restless for another reformation of their Kirk-government; and to that end created a new Covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity; but by so many thousands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed to request: so that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcastle, where the King was forced to meet them with an army: but upon a treaty and some concessions, he sent them back, (though not so rich as they intended, yet,) for that time without bloodshed. But, oh! this piece, and this Covenant, were but the forerunners of war, and the many miseries that followed: for in the year following there were so many chosen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with these very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the members of that Parliament, and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would restore them to their former tranquillity. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into Eng-

land: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto; *For the crown and covenant of both kingdoms.* This I saw, and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because, in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common Prayer and ceremonies of the Church, and seemed restless for a reformation: and though their desires seemed not reasonable to the King, and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury; yet, to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did, in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material for satisfying their consciences: and to this end they did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house, for the space of three months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless, his reputation was such, that he was, in the year 1642, proposed by both Houses of Parliament to

the King, then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church-affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so: but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houses of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an assembly of divines, to debate and settle some church-controversies, of which many were very unfit to judge: in which Dr. Sanderson was also named; but it did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the summons wanting the King's authority. And here I must look back, and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford: but though knowledge be said to puff up, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons, (expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed,) kept him from entering into it till October, 1646.

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first *de Juramento*, a point very difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part of their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following lectures *de Conscientia*, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens must needs fall short in the commendation of them: so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in casuistical divinity. And there-

fore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures, (the King being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight,) the Parliament had sent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all heads of houses: and all other inferior scholars, of what degree soever, were all to take these oaths by a fixed day; and those that did not, to abandon their College, and the University too, within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum; for if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others, had been formerly murdered by this wicked Parliament; but the King yet was not: and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made made between King and Parliament, that the Dissenters in the University might both preserve their consciences and subsistence which they then enjoyed by their Colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the Parliament were not yet grown so merciless as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the University appointed twenty delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to the Parliament, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences: and of these delegates Dr. Sheldon, (late Archbishop of Canterbury,) Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, (now Bishop of Winchester,) and that most honest and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part; the rest I cannot now name: but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson; and he was requested to methodize and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires and did so.

And then after they had been read in a full convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all nations: and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them: but they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these Reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the loyal party's sufferings *.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment; and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat of that to the King, who had in the year 1646 sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, (the late Archbishop of Canterbury,) and Dr. Morley, (the now Bishop of Winchester,) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the Parliament for a peace in Church and State: but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now allowed him by those in present power. And as those other Divines, so Dr. Sanderson gave his attendance on his Majesty also in the Isle of Wight, preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private, conferences with him, to his majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that being the Parliament had proposed to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with monarchy, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy restoration, and

* A copy of these *Reasons* is subjoined to this Life.

then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's taking his leave of his Majesty in his last attendance on him, the King requested him to "betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity." To which his answer was, "That he was now grown too old, and unfit to write cases of conscience." But the King was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young man was fit to be a judge, or write cases of conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious King told Dr. Sanderson, or one of them that then waited with him, "that the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever restored him to be in peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and a voluntary penance, (I think barefoot) from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's Church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon." I am sure one of them that told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson's lectures *de Juramento* were so approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude he translated them into exact English, desiring Dr. Juxon, (then Bishop of London,) Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert, (who then attended him,) to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately shewed me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms. The book was designed to be put into the King's library at St. James's; but, I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and the translator to be both so much concerned in this

relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair in Oxford; where they that complied not in taking the Covenant, Negative Oath, and Parliament Ordinance for church-discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion: for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and university full of soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the Dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods: but, notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened; and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves of their colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June, 1648) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the University had denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Christ-Church, (now Lord Bishop of Winchester), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by Parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee

counsel, to plead their cause on the day appointed; but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst undertake it; for at this time the privileges of that Parliament were become a *Noli me tangere*, as sacred and useful to them, as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced, for want of counsel, to plead the University's reasons for non-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions: and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause; yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate, as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the Dissenters out of the University. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and, that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "he had such a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his college, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford, when the Visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that he should, without taking any oath or other molestation, enjoy his Canon's place in his college." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Dr. word: and his answer was, "that I must not fail to return my friend (who still lives) his humble and undissembled thanks,

though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when the Dean, Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the college, were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame, to be left behind with him only." Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may easily be imagined, with what a joyful willingness these self-loving reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and subsistence: but their consciences were dearer than their subsistence, and out they went; the reformers possessing them without shame or scruple: where I will leave these scruple-mongers, and make an account of the then present affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the Bishops' houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with Divines, that would not take the Covenant, or forbear reading Common Prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these. For it may be noted, that about this time the Parliament set out a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occasion to complain of their ministers for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a committee for that purpose; and the minister, though a hundred miles from London, should appear there, and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; (and you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant;) by which means all prisons in London, and in some other places, became the sad habitations of Conforming Divines.

And about this time the Bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many of the malicious citizens, fearing his pardon, shut up their shops, professing not to open them till justice

was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible; but I saw it.

The Bishops had been voted out of the House of Parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower; which made many Covenanters rejoice, and believe Mr. Brightman (who probably was a good and well-meaning man) to be inspired in his comment on the Apocalypse, an abridgment, of which was now printed, and called Mr. Brightman's *Revelation of the Revelation*. And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet, because he had made the Churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no Bishops, to be Philadelphia in the Apocalypse, *the angel that God loved*; and the power of Prelacy to be Antichrist, the evil angel, which the House of Commons had now so spewed up, as never to recover their dignity; therefore did those Covenanters approve and applaud Mr. Brightman for discovering and foretelling the Bishops' downfal; so that they both railed at them, and rejoiced to buy good pennyworths of their lands, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford them as a reward of their diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the Bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not, preach true doctrine: and by this and like means several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in the discourse that follows.

I have heard of two men, that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, "for he was beholden to him;" and the other, that he was not, "for he was not beholden to him." And something like this was in the designs both of the Cove-

nanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former: for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the Covenant; and the other, that we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear the Covenant contrary to their consciences, and lose both their livings and liberties too. Though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They also made other strange observations of Election, Reprobation, and Free Will, and the other points dependent upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not; though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannel.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a Presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian, being well settled in this good living, began to reform the church-yard, by cutting down a large hew-tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners; who excepting against him for so doing, were answered, "That the trees were his, and it was lawful for every man to use his own, as he, and not as they thought fit." I have heard, (but do not affirm it,) that no action lies

against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet of a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it: nor would one suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did. And whether there were any law against him, I know not; but pity the parish the less for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothby parish, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise; for all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers, serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this Covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy, (so the Historian* saith,) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations: and though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguiled, and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet an eminent dissenter from them, could not live peaceably; nor did he; for the soldiers would appear, and visibly disturb him in the church when he read prayers, pretending to advise him how God was to be served most acceptably: which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.

* Thucydides.

At this time he was advised by a Parliament man of power and note, that valued and loved him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the soldiers came to watch him; for then it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the Covenant, or sequestration: for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the Rubric. I will set down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

"O Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy servants do with shame and sorrow confess, that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep; and that, by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed; we have many times left undone those good duties, which we might and ought to have done; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in thy mercy, whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked. Have mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders: spare us, good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not; but, according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort

of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

In these disturbances of tearing his service-book, a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening-service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said; "God hath restored me to my desired privacy, with my wife and children; where I hoped to have met with quietness, and it proves not so: but I will labour to be pleased, because God, on whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him, that he hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of a good conscience to maintain me in a place of great reputation and profit: and though my condition be such, that I need the last, yet I submit; for God did not send me into this world to do my own, but suffer his will, and I will obey it." Thus by a sublime depending on his wise, and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to what God had appointed, justifying the truth of that doctrine which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of *The King's Meditations in his Solitude* was printed, and made public: and Dr. Sanderson was such a lover of the Author, and so desirous that the whole world should see the character of him in that book, and something of the cause for which they suffered, that he designed to turn it into Latin: but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done the whole very well before him.

About this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a conversation and rest with him for some days; and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had writ it; Dr. Sanderson became so

compliant, as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbour minister, and requested to exchange a sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was writ: but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond, (looking on his sermon as written) observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, that he also became afraid for him; for it was discernible to many of the plain auditory. But when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, " Good Doctor, give me my sermon; and know, that neither you, nor any man living, shall ever persuade me to preach again without my books." To which the reply was, " Good Doctor, be not angry; for if I ever persuade you to preach again without a book, I will give you leave to burn all those that I am master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time to discourse with Dr. Sanderson about some opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly; it was about those knotty points, which are by the learned called the *Quinquarticular Controversy*; of which I shall proceed, not to give any judgment, (I pretend not to that,) but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy Covenant was brought and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (those of London especially) to preach and be too positive in the points of Universal Redemption, Predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached, " That all men were, before they came into this world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that it was not in their power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor by their most diligent endeavour to avoid the latter." Others, " That it was not so; because

then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world;" affirming therefore, "that man had some power left him to do the will of God, because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling;" maintaining, "that it is most certain every man can do what he can to be saved; and that he that does what he can to be saved, shall never be damned." And yet many that affirmed this would confess, "That that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that grace which shall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, (the now Rev. Dean of Salisbury,) of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the fifty-two London ministers (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his *Practical Catechism* affirmed, "that our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind." To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works.) After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees differed with Dr. Hammond, (whom he reverenced and loved dearly,) and would not therefore engage him into a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: but they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being printed in

his works; and for what passed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find that, upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a postscript to the last letter of Dr. Sanderson's, "God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety." And let me add further, that if these fifty-two ministers of Sion College were the occasion of the debates in these letters, they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the *Quinquarticular Controversy*; for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confess it to the honour of God and themselves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

I cannot lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson where we left them at Boothby Pannel, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of

the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both then and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter, concern us; namely, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he having freely pardoned all his enemies, and humbly begged of God to pardon them, and besought those present to pardon and pray for him; yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for suffering a sort of wretched people, that could not know why he was condemned, to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, "that the Parliament would hasten his execution." And having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery, (for that was one of the accusations for which he died,) he declared with sadness, "That the several sects and divisions then in England" (which he had laboured to prevent) "were like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest, than he could ever have expected without them." And said, "These sects and divisions introduce profaneness under the cloak of an imaginary religion;" and "that we have lost the substance of religion by changing it into opinion; and that by these means this Church, which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger by those which were his accusers." To this purpose he spoke at his death: for this, and more of which, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same in his two large and remarkable prefaces before his two volumes of sermons; and he seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last will, made when he apprehended himself to be very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the

late wicked war begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the Professor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it, (for he lived fourteen years after,) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him: but this benefit is so like time past, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannel, where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together; but neither can be found there: for the first was in his journey to London, and the second seized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried prisoner to Lincoln, then a garrison of the Parliament's. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I shall give this following account.

There was one Mr. Clarke, the minister of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannel, who was an active man for the Parliament and Covenant; one that, when Belvoir Castle (then a garrison for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark, then a garrison of the King's; a man so active and useful for his party, that they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garrison: and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many, that knew him so well as to treat him kindly; but told him, "He must continue their prisoner, till he should purchase his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prisoner in the King's garrison of Newark." There were many reasons given by the Doctor of the injustice of his imprisonment, and the

inequality of the exchange; but all were ineffectual; for done it must be, or continue a prisoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions.

First, that Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged should live undisturbed at their own parishes; and if either were injured by the soldiers on the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other party. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanderson could neither live safely nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places: but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both; and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet, by His providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but contented subsistence for himself, wife, and children, till the happy restoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation, and sincerity, became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in cases of conscience; some known to him, many not: some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet he denied no man: and if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, "That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy or doing kindnesses;" then doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have boasted for

relieving so many restless and wounded consciences; which, as Solomon says, "are a burden that none can bear," though their fortitude may sustain their other infirmities: and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies; then Dr. Sànderson might rejoice that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied; for he denied none, and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion, and that God had inclined his heart to do it to the meanest of any of those poor but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.

Some of those very many cases that were resolved by letters have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity; as namely,

1. Of the Sabbath.
2. Marry with a Recusant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of Scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the King's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a rash vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive some patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown giddy by the many falsehoods and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons; when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous frenzies; in this time he

did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened danger, yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last twenty sermons; (first printed in the year 1655;) in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed with such a spirit of contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifest, (his conscience having slept long and quietly in a good sequestered living,) was yet at the reading of it so awakened, that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was to sustain if he consented to it, (and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reasoned,) he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, "he had sold a book in which there was false divinity; and that the preface had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly ministers of that party, for unjust dealing." To which his reply was, (it was Tim. Garthwaite,) "That it was not his trade to judge of true or false divinity, but to print and sell books: and yet if he, or any friend of his, would write an answer to it, and own it by setting his name to it, he would print the answer, and promote the selling of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in sad coloured clothes, and, God knows, far from being costly. The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a penthouse, (for it began to rain,) and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale,

and a fire, for our money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations, with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader. He seemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and use of it with their blood: and that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it, and at least pretend to make better prayers *extempore:* and that they, and only they, that could do so, prayed by the Spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the Common Prayer of the Church, saying, "the Collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant expressions that any language ever afforded; and that there was in them such piety, and so interwoven with instructions, that they taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour; and that a congregation, behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint and known desires for pardon of sins, and praises for mercies received, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw, unpremeditated expressions, to which many of the hearers could not say, Amen."

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter, or Psalms of David; speaking to this purpose: "That they were the treasury of Christian comfort, fitted for all persons and necessities; able to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's mercies to repentant sinners; to stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to moderate

sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's leisure; to beget a trust in the mercy, power, and providence of our Creator; and to cause a resignation of ourselves to his will; and then, and not till then, to believe ourselves happy." This he said the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last they would not only prove to be our souls' comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner he expressed himself concerning the Liturgy and Psalms; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about Free-will, Election, and Reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that, by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, "they might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were elected, though their lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, though their wealth was got without justice or mercy; that to be busy in things they understood not, was no sin." These and the like mistakes he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness, with which this nation was blessed, before the unhappy Covenant was brought into the nation, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "That the way to restore this nation to a more meek and Christian

temper, was to have the body of divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be known) to be put into fifty-two homilies or sermons, of such a length as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an hour's reading; and these needful points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity might know what was necessary to be believed, and what God requires to be done; and then some applications of trial and conviction: and these to be read every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body; and then as certainly begun again, and continued the year following: and that this being done, it might probably abate the inordinate desire of knowing what we need not, and practising what we know, and ought to do." This was the earnest desire of this prudent man. And O that Dr. Sanderson had undertaken it! for then in all probability it would have proved effectual.

At this happy time of enjoying his company and this discourse, he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, "O that I had gone chaplain to that excellently accomplished gentleman, your friend, Sir Henry Wotton! which was once intended, when he first went Ambassador to the state of Venice: for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of conversing, not with him only, but with several men of several nations; and might thereby have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness, which has proved very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become so habitual as never to leave me: and by that means I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing, one of the late miracles of general learning, prudence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Padria Paulo, who, the author of his life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible as I have found my own to be: a man whose fame must never die, till virtue and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's conversation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescension. I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in many parishes, where the maintenance was not great, there was no minister to officiate; and that many of the best sequestered livings were possessed with such rigid Covenanters as denied the Sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner, as they could not take it. This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, "The blessed Sacrament did, by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious receivers to examine the performance of their vows, since they received their last seal for the pardon of their sins past; and to examine and research their hearts, and make penitent reflections on their failings; and, that done, to bewail them, and then make new vows or resolutions to obey all God's commands, and beg his grace to perform them. And this done, the Sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us still hunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then receive, and being assisted with our endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our satisfaction in this life, and our comfort on our last sick beds." The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall: his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little, yet enough, of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, but so

matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many Parliament injunctions, that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful, his integrity visible, and his whole life so unspotted, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after; the Clergy especially, who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God, whose pure eyes abhor iniquity.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes, that the sight becomes less perfect: but there was therein no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness; for he alone, or to a friend could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius, without book; and would say, "the repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it to themselves or friends." And though he was blest with a clearer judgment than other men; yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and re-consider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet, when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his divinity lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars atended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend Dr. Sheldon would often say, namely, "That his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that disliked and controlled; still considering, and re-considering, till his time was so wasted, that he was

forced to write, not, probably, what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear and satisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applause. These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him an averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions; yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes; and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness; always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor suffered him to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved with David, *That his praise should be always in his mouth.*

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and more might be added of all: but I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men suffered, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very low condition as to his estate: and in that time Mr. Robert Boyle (a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives) having casually

met with and read his Lectures *de Juramento*, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the Parliament's injunction, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow (the now learned Bishop of Lincoln) 50*l*. and with it a request and promise. The request was, That he would review the Lectures *de Conscientia*, which he had read when he was Doctor of the chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity; (and this Dr. Sanderson did in the year 1659.) And the promise was, that he would pay him that, or a greater sum if desired, during his life, to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate. For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the end of this year 1659, when the many mixt sects, and their creators and merciless protectors, had led or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion; when amazement and fear had seized them, and their accusing consciences gave them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god which they had long served was now ready to pay them such wages, as he does always reward witches with for their obeying him; when these wretches were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson (and with him many of the oppressed Clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it; then, in the beginning of the year following, the King was by God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations. Then were the suffering Clergy freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and

pray to God in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this day, and be of this number.

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times men of learning and virtue were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of episcopal government, and often refused it. For they conscientiously considered, that the office of a Bishop was made up of labour and care; that they were trusted to be God's almoners of the Church's revenue, and double their care for the poor; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy did so; and that the account of that stewardship must at the last dreadful day be made to the Searcher of all hearts: and that in the primitive times they were therefore timorous to undertake it. It may not be said, that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required in a Bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly: but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man, than are apparent in others in these days, in which, God knows, we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; and namely, that, at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Bishop of Canterbury, (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better,) was by his Majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him: and, that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would, for God's and the

Church's sake, take that charge and care upon him. Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it; and would often say, "he had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily prayed against; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares and endeavours, might promote his glory, and help forward the salvation of others."

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric; and am next to tell, that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln at Westminster the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the Church service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last some were then preferred to power and dignity in the Church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate: and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual: for there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstrations can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy in the Strand: and the points debated were, I think, many; some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being then in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed, as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. But that the debate might become more useful, it was therefore resolved, that the day following the desires and

reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren; yet I am sure Mr. Baxter was one, and am sure what shall now follow was one of the points debated.

Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient to its being a lawful command; this proposition was brought by the conforming party.

"That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing, thus:

One was, "Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in itself, and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command." Another was, "That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful."

Mr Baxter denied it for this reason, then given in with his own hand in writing, thus; "Because the first act commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly, or *per accidens*, any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the law-

fulness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

PETER GUNNING.
JOHN PEARSON.

These were then two of the disputants, still alive, and will attest this; one being now Lord Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the Dissenters (which I could but forbear to name) appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderson (who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other bishops) to say, with an unusual earnestness, "That he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his conversation."

But through this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities, of the other, much better than before it: and the late distressed Clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, did at their next meeting in Convocation contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the Rubric and Common-Prayer, as also by adding some new necessary collects, and a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of those new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this Convocation the Common Prayer was made more complete, by adding three new necessary offices; which were, "A Form of Humiliation for the Murder of King Charles the Martyr;" "A Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King;" and "For the Baptizing of Persons of riper Age." I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the Convocation; and he did also, by desire of the Convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the Service-Book.) And it may be noted, that William, the now Right Reverend Bishop of Canterbury, was in these employments diligently useful, especially in helping to rectify the Calendar and Rubric. And lastly, it may be noted, that for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the Convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be known by this title,—"The Preface;" and begins thus—"It hath been the wisdom of the Church—."

I shall now follow him to his bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his Clergy, as to know and be known to them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannel; for there was all joy at his table, when they came to visit him: then they prayed for him, and he for them, with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that the care and toil required of a Bishop may justly challenge the riches and revenue, with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them; and yet he sought

not that so much, as doing good both to the present age and posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The Bishop's chief house at Bugden, in the county of Huntington, the usual residence of his predecessors, (for it stands about the midst of his diocese,) having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added, that the King having by an injunction commended to the care of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends of all cathedral churches, "the repair of them, their houses, and their augmentation of smal vicarages;" he, when he was repairing Bugden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases: so fast, that a friend, taking notice of his bounty was so bold as to advice him to remember "he was under his first-fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were considered." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not become a Christian Bihop to suffer those houses built by his predecessors to be ruined for want of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of those, that were called to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God's altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of cheerfulness: and wished, that as this was, so it were also in his power to make all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he hoped to leave them a competence, and in the hands of a God that would provide for all that kept innocence, and trusted his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep him happy."

There was in his diocese a minister of almost his

age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness. This minister asked the Bishop what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning. To which his answer was, that he declined reading many; but what he did read were well chosen, and read so often, that he became very familiar with them; and said, they were chiefly three, Aristotle's Rhetoric, Aquinas's Secunda Secundæ, and Tully, but chiefly his Offices, which he had not read over less than twenty times, and could at this age say without book. And told him also, the learned Civilian Doctor Zouch (who died lately) had writ Elementa Jurisprudentiæ, which was a book that he could also say without book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love or commend too much; and told him these had been his toil: but for himself he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation.

Before I give an account of Dr. Sanderson's last sickness, I desire to tell the reader, that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: and this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying (indeed too much). In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason, (for

this distemper works not upon the understanding,) he made his last will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what hath been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did in his last will give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion, and church-government, in these very words:

"I, Robert Sanderson, Doctor of Divinity, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, and, by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my will and testament, (written all with my own hand,) revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself, (infinitely polluted with sin,) but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son, and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire, and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly Churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education, (to which the

greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion,) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the Puritan on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the Father of mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious Sovereign, the reverend Bishops, and the Parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this Church in point of religion by the late great increase of Popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies, as may prevent the same before it be too late."

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his will which follows.

"As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish-church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or (at the farthest) the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person how near soever related unto me, other than the inhabitants of Bug-

den; without the unnecesssary expence of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning-gown for the preacher; whereof the former (after my body shall be interred) to be given to the preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of the parish for the time being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my own household chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains *5l.* upon condition, that he speak nothing at all concerning my person, either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will, that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this inscription in legible Roman characters, DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS. This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever testifying at my death (what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time) my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expences otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments, with very little bene-

fit to any, which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons."

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662; and that his body was buried in Bugden the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation as he desired it; and all the rest of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have (to his just praise) told this truth, "That he died far from being rich," I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last sick-bed.

§ His last will (of which I have mentioned a part) was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength decay by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. And that none of his Clergy (which are more numerous than any other Bishop's) might suffer by his retirement, he did by commission impower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with episcopal power to give institutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their prayers backward for him: and that it was not his desire to live a useless life, and by filling up a place keep another out of it, that might do God and his Church service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "That during his being a housekeeper (which was more than forty years) there had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the first." He would also often mention with thank-

fulness, "That till he was threescore years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor (upon himself) so much in wine: and rejoiced much that he had so lived, as never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good father; and hoped he should die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family out of *The Whole Duty of Man.* As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals. And his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he expecting and calling for it, was answered, "It would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, "A quarter of an hour! Is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably has not many hours to live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary of either motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed: in which I desire he may rest, till I have given some account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed, (which was three days before his death,) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the new Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for it was ended, he spake to this purpose; "Thou, O God, tookest me out of my mother's womb, and hast been the powerful protector of me to this present moment

of my life: Thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. It was by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials: and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is, that I may die praising thee."

The frequent repetition of the Psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Christians; the Psalms having in them not only prayers and holy instructions, but such commemorations of God's mercies, as may preserve comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Psalmist said, that *his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the night watches, by meditating on God's word**: so it was Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very Psalms that the Church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily morning service: and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the evening, remembering and repeating the very Psalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if his first waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it, he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth, which is now his employment in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might

* Psalm cxix. 147.

lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful; and he said, *Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me; but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be filled with thy praise.* He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment; and during that time did often say the 103rd Psalm to himself, and very often these words, *My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found.* His thoughts seemed now to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared, that the King of Terrors could not surprise him *as a thief in the night:* for he had often said, "he was prepared, and longed for it." And as this desire seemed to come from heaven, so it left him not till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in concert with him, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought them to that place, *into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.*

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. It is now too late to wish that my life may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age: but I humbly beseech Almighty God, that my death may; and do as earnestly beg of every reader to say Amen.

*Blessed is the man in whose spirit there is no guile**.

* Psal. xxxii. 2.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

DR. PIERCE'S LETTER.

Good Mr. Walton,

At my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. Sanderson, before the happy restoration of the King and Church of England to their several rights: in one of which letters more especially, he was pleased to give me a narrative both of the rise and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper judgment, touching the famous points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjustly and unskilfully) miscalled on either side.

The whole letter I allude to does consist of several sheets, whereof a good part has been made public long ago, by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. Hammond, (to whom I sent it both for his private, and for the public satisfaction, if he thought fit,) in his excellent book, entitled, "A Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full Accordance with Dr. Sanderson:" to which discourse I refer you for an account of Dr. Sanderson, and the history of his thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I sent it to Westwood, as I received it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole book (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted since with his other tracts in folio) is very worthy of your perusal; yet, for the work you are about, you shall not

have need to read more at present than from the 8th to the 23rd page, and as far as the end of section 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became a master of Arts: how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's Institutions, the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors: how he erred with Mr. Calvin, whilst he took things upon trust in the *sublapsarian* way: how, being chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, 1625, he reduced the *Quinquarticular Controversy* into five schemes or tables; and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the *sublapsarian* way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the *supralapsarian*, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty reasons against them both, and find his happy change of judgment to have been ever since the year 1625, even thirty-four years before the world either knew, or, at least, took notice of it; and more particularly his reasons for rejecting Dr. Twiss, or (the way he walks in,) although his acute and very learned and ancient friend.

* I now proceed to let you know from Dr. Sanderson's own hand, which was never printed, (and which you can hardly know from any, unless from his son, or from myself,) that, when that Parliament was broken up, and the convocation therewith dissolved, a gentleman of his acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these points, told him of a book not long before published at Paris (A. D. 1623,) by a Spanish Bishop †, who had undertaken to clear the differences in the great controversy *De Concor-*

* Sir, I pray note, that all that follows between inverted commas are Dr. Sanderson's own words, excellently worthy, but no where else extant; and commend him as much as any thing you can say of him. T. P.

† Aribba.

dia Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii. And because his friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the book, he sent him one of them, containing the four first books of twelve, which he intended then to publish. "When I had read," says Dr. Sanderson, in the following words of the same letter, "his Epistle Dedicatory to the Pope, (Gregory XV.) he spake so highly of his own invention, that I then began rather to suspect him for a mountebank, than to hope I should find satisfaction from his performances. I found much confidence and great pomp of words, but little matter as to the main knot of the business, other that had been said an hundred times before, to wit, of the co-existence of all things past, present, and future, *in mente divina realiter ab æterno*, which is the subject of his whole third book; only he interpreteth the word *realiter* so as to import not only *præsentialitatem objectivam*, (as others held before him,) but *propriam et actualem existentiam*; yet confesseth it is hard to make this intelligible. In his fourth book he endeavours to declare a two-fold manner of God's working *ad extra*; the one *sub ordine prædestinationis*, of which eternity is the proper measure; the other *snb ordine gratiæ*, whereof time is the measure: and that God worketh *fortiter* in the one, (though not *irresistibiliter*,) as well as *suaviter* in the other, wherein the free will hath his proper working also. From the result of his whole performance I was confirmed in this opinion; that we must acknowledge the work of both grace and free will in the conversion of a sinner; and so likewise in all other events, the consistency of the infallibility of God's foreknowledge at least (though not with any absolute, but conditional predestination) with the liberty of man's will, and the contingency of inferior causes and effects. These, I say, we must acknowledge for the ὅτι: but for the τὸ πῶς, I thought it bootless for me to think of comprehending it. And so came the two *Acta Synodalia Dordrechtana*

to stand in my study, only to fill up a room to this day.

"And yet see the restless curiosity of man. Not many years after, to wit, A. D. 1632, out cometh Dr. Twiss's *Vindiciæ Gratiæ,* a large volume, purposely writ against Arminius: and then, notwithstanding my former resolution, I must needs be meddling again. The respect I bore to his person and great learning, and the long acquaintance I had had with him in Oxford, drew me to the reading of that whole book. But from the reading of it (for I read it through to a syllable) I went away with many and great dissatisfactions. Sundry things in that book I took notice of, which brought me into a greater dislike of his opinion than I had before: but especially these three: First, that he bottometh very much of his discourse upon a very erroneous principle, which yet he seemeth to be so deeply in love with, that he hath repeated it, I verily believe, some hundreds of times in that work: to wit this; That whatsoever is first in the intention is last in execution, and *e converso.* Which is an error of that magnitude, that I cannot but wonder how a person of such acuteness and subtilty of wit could possibly be deceived with it. All logicians know there is no such universal maxim as he buildeth upon. The true maxim is but this: *Finis qui primus est intentione, est ultimus in executione.* In the order of final causes, and the means used for that end, the rule holdeth perpetually: but in other things it holdeth not at all, or but by chance; or not as a rule, and necessarily. Secondly, that, foreseeing such consequences would naturally and necessarily follow from his opinion, as would offend the ear of a sober Christian at the very first sound, he would yet rather choose not only to admit the said harsh consequences but professedly endeavour also to maintain them, and plead hard for them in large digressions, than to recede in the least from that opinion which he had

undertaken to defend. Thirdly, that seeing (out o. the sharpness of his wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordinary sublapsarian way, and the supralapsarian to as it had diversely been declared by all that had gon before him, (for the shunning of those rocks, whic either of those ways must unavoidably cast him upon, he was forced to seek out an untrodden path, and to frame out of his own brain a new way, (like a spider's web wrought out of her own bowels,) hoping by th device to salve all absurdities could be objected; t wit, by making the glory of God (as it is indeed th chiefest, so) the only end of all other his decrees and then making all those other decrees to be but one entire co-ordinate medium conducing to that one end, and so the whole subordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subordinate to any other of the same. Dr. Twiss should have done well to have been more sparing in imputing the *studium partium* to others, wherewith his own eyes, though of eminent perspicacity, were so strangely blindfolded, that he could not discern how this his new device, and his old dearly beloved principle, (like the *Cadmean Sparti,*) do mutually destroy the one and the other.

"This relation of my past thoughts having spun out to a far greater length than I intended, I shall give a shorter account of what they now are concerning these points."

For which account I refer you to the following parts of Dr. Hammond's book aforesaid, where you may find them already printed: and for another account at large of Bishop Sanderson's last judgment concerning *God's concurrence* or *non-concurrence* with the *actions of men*, and *the positive entity of sins of commission*, I refer you to his letters already printed by his consent, in my large Appendix to my *Impartial Enquiry into the Nature of Sin*, § 68, p. 193, as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice to transcribe all above out of the letters of Dr. Sanderson, which

re before me, than venture the loss of my originals by post or carrier, which, though not often, yet sometimes fail. Make use of as much or as little as you please, of what I send you from himself (because from his own letters to me) in the penning of his life, as your own prudence shall direct you; using my name for your warrantry in the account given of him, as much or as little as you please too. You have a performance of my promise, and an obedience to your desires from

Your affectionate
Humble Servant,
THO. PIERCE.

NORTH TIDWORTH,
March, 5, 1677-8.

RAJA SERFOJI'S ... TANJORE

THE

BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER.

My worthy Friend Mr. Walton,

I AM heartily glad that you have undertaken to write the life of that excellent person, and (both for learning and piety) eminent Prelate, Dr. Sanderson, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: and sure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned Prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of twenty years, and, in Oxon, to enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious instructions while he was Regius Professor of Divinity there. Afterwards, when, in the time of our late unhappy confusions, he left Oxon, and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein, with great candour and kindness, he answered those doubts I proposed, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of greater confidence, but less judgment and humility. Having, in a letter named two or three books, writ, *ex pro*-

fesso, against the being of any original sin; and that Adam, by his fall transmitted some calamity only, but no crime, to his posterity; the good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seemed to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish, any error so contradictory to truth, and the doctrine of the Church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the just and supreme power of this nation, both sacred and civil. I name not the books, nor their authors, which are not unknown to learned men, (and I wish they had never been known,) because both *the doctrine, and the unadvised abettors of it, are (and shall be) to me apocryphal.*

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of Dr. Sanderson's piety, great ability, and judgment as a casuist. Discoursing with an honourable person*, (whose piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great,) about a case of conscience, concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; in which, for some particular reasons, he then desired more fully to be informed; I commended to him Dr. Sanderson's book *De Juramento*: which having read, with great satisfaction, he asked me, if I thought the Doctor could be induced to write cases of conscience, if he might have an honorary pension allowed him to furnish him with books for that purpose? I told him I believed he would; and, in a letter to the Doctor, told him what great satisfaction that honourable person, and many more, had reaped by reading his book *De Juramento*; and asked him, whether he would be pleased, for the benefit of the Church, to write some tract of cases of conscience? He replied, that he was glad that any had received any

* Robert Boyle, Esq.

benefit by his books; and added further, that if any future tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to say his former had done, he would willingly, though without any pension, set about that work. Having received this answer, that honourable person before mentioned did, by my hands, return 50*l.* to the good Doctor; whose condition then, as most good men's at that time were, was but low: and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent book *De Conscientia*; a book little in bulk, but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it: for there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and obligation of it, explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and can, with prudence, pertinently apply them *hic et nunc* to particular cases, may, by their light and help, rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in promoting, and the piety and industry of the good Doctor in performing, that excellent work.

And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious Prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the Schools as Regius Professor of Divinity, and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers; especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occurred in the explication of the subject-matter of his lectures; a person of quality, yet alive, privately asked him, what course a young Divine should take in his studies, to enable him to be a good casuist? His answer was, that a convenient understanding of the learned languages, (at least of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,) and a sufficient knowledge of arts and

sciences presupposed; there were two things in human literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use to enable a man to be a rational and able casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible. 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the nature of human actions: to know, *quid sit actus humanus (spontaneus, invitus, mixtus,) unde habent bonitatem et malitiam moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?* how the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human actions? how far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish, the goodness or evil of our actions? For every case of conscience being only this, *Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?* he who, in these, knows not how and whence human actions become morally good and evil, never can, *in hypothesi*, rationally and certainly determine, whether this or that particular action be so. 2. The second thing, which, he said, would be a great help and advantage to a casuist, was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in general: to know what a law is; what a natural and a positive law; what's required to the *latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis:* what promulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any positive law; what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression: for every case of conscience being only this, *Is this lawful for me or is it not?* and the law the only rule and measure, by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action; it evidently follows, that he who, in these, knows not the nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good casuist, or rationally assure himself, or others, of the lawfulness of actions in particular. This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious Prelate; and

having, by long experience, found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive I could not, without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it. Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent scribble, which (if nothing else) may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, and am indeed

Your affectionate friend,
THOMAS LINCOLN.

LONDON,
May, 10, 1678.

REASONS

OF THE PRESENT

JUDGMENT

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

CONCERNING THE

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT,

NEGATIVE OATH,

ORDINANCES CONCERNING DISCIPLINE AND WORSHIP.

Approved by general Consent in a full Convocation, June 1, 1647; and presented to Consideration.

A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland.

WE, Noblemen, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under our King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private devotion is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late and at this time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed state of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies: we have now at last, (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings,) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

I.

That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches: and shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechizing; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II.

That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

III.

We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour,

with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

IV.

We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V.

And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

VI.

We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal or make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; which are the causes of our sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and private,

in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of Antichristian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

THE NEGATIVE OATH.

I, A. B. do swear from my heart, that I will not, directly nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly assist the King in this war, or in this cause, against the Parliament, nor any forces raised without the consent of the two houses of Parliament, in this cause or war. And I do likewise swear, that my coming and submitting myself under the power and protection of the Parliament, is without any manner of design whatsoever, to the prejudice of the proceedings of this present Parliament, and without the direction, privity, or advice of the King, or any of his council or officers, other than what I have now made known. So help me God, and the contents of this Book.

Reasons why the University of Oxford cannot submit to the Covenant, the Negative Oath, the Ordinance concerning Discipline and Directory, mentioned in the late Ordinance of Parliament for the Visitation of that Place.

WHEREAS by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliment, for the visitation and reformation of the University of Oxford, lately published, power is given to certain persons therein named as Visitors, to enquire concerning those of the said University that neglect to take the solemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath being tendered unto them, and likewise concerning those that oppose the execution of the Ordinances of Parliament concerning the Discipline and Directory, or shall not promote or cause the same to be put in execution, according to their several places and callings; we the Masters, Scholars, and other officers and members of the said University, not to judge the consciences of others, but to clear ourselves before God and the world from all suspicion of obstinacy, whilst we discharge our own, present to consideration the true reasons of our present judgment concerning the said Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances; expecting so much justice, and hoping for so much charity, as either not to be pressed to conform to what is required in any the premises, further than our present judgments will warrant us; or not condemned for the refusing so to do, without clear and real satisfaction given to our just scruples.

SECTION I.

Of the Preface to the Covenant.

THE exceptions against the Introductory Preface to the Covenant, although we insist not much upon

because it may be said to be no part of the Covenant; yet among the things therein contained, the acknowledgment whereof is implicitly required of every Covenanter,

1. We are not able to say, *That the rage, power, and presumption of the enemies of God* (in the sense there intended) *is at this time increased.*
2. Nor can truly affirm, that we had used, or given consent to, any *supplication* or *remonstrance* to the purposes therein expressed.
3. Nor do conceive the entering into such a mutual League and Covenant to be a lawful, proper, and probable means to *preserve ourselves and our religion from ruin and destruction.*
4. Nor can believe the same to be *according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms, or the example of God's people in other nations*; when we find not the least footstep in our histories of a sworn covenant ever entered into by the people of this kingdom upon any occasion whatsoever: nor can readily remember any commendable example of the like done in any other nation; but are rather told by the defenders of this Covenant, that* *the world never saw the like before.*

SECTION II.

Of the Covenant in Gross.

First, we are not satisfied how we can submit to the taking thereof, as it is now imposed under a penalty.

* "Such an oath, as for matter, persons, and other "circumstances, the like hath not been in any age or "oath we read of in sacred or human stories." M. Nye, Covenant with Narrative, p. 12.

1. Such imposition (to our seeming) being repugnant to the nature of a covenant, which being a contract, implieth a * *voluntary mutual consent* of the contractors; whereunto men are to be induced by persuasions, not compelled by power. Insomuch that the very words of this Covenant in the preface, conclusion, and whole frame thereof, run in such a form throughout, as import a consent rather grounded upon prudential motives than extorted by rigour.
2. Without betraying the liberty, which by our protestation we are bound, and in the third article of this Covenant must swear, *with our lives and fortunes to preserve.* To which liberty the imposition of a new oath, other than is established by act of Parliament, is expressed in the *Petition of Right* † and by the Lords and Commons in their *Declarations* ‡ acknowledged to be contrary.
3. Without acknowledging in the imposers a greater power than, for aught that appeareth to us, hath been in former time challenged; or can consist with our former protestation, (if we rightly understand it,) in sundry of the most material branches thereof.

Neither, secondly, we are satisfied, although the Covenant should not be imposed upon us at all, but

* "Pactum est duorum pluriumve in idem placitum consensus." L. i. ff. de Pactis.

† "Whereas many of them have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws and statutes of this realm; they do humbly pray, that no man hereafter be compelled to take such an oath.—All which they most humbly pray—as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm." Petition of Right, 3 Carol.

‡ It is declared, 16 Jan. 1642, "That the King cannot compel men to be sworn without an act of Parliament." Exact. Collect. p. 859, 860.

but only recommended to us, and then left to our choice;

1. How we should in wisdom and duty (being subjects,) of our own accord and free will, enter into a Covenant, wherein he, whose subjects we are, is in any wise concerned, without his consent, either expressed or reasonably presumed; it being in his power (as we conceive) by the equity of the law, Numb. xxx. to annul and make void the same at his pleasure.
2. How we can (now that his Majesty hath by his public *Interdict** sufficiently made known his pleaure in that behalf) enter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expressly forbidden, without forfeiting that obedience, which, (as we are persuaded,) by our natural allegiance and former oaths, we owe unto all such his Majesty's commands, as are not in our apprehensions repugnant to the will of God, or the positive laws of this kingdom.

SECTION III.

Of the First Article of the Covenant.

WHEREIN, first, we are not satisfied, how we can with judgment swear to endeavour to preserve the religion of another kingdom;

1. Whereof, as it doth not concern us to have very much, so we profess to have very little understanding.
2. Which (so far as the occurrents of these unhappy times have brought it to our knowledge, and we are able to judge) is in three of the four specified particulars, viz. *worship, discipline,* and *government,* much worse; and in the

* Proclam. of 9 Octob. 19. Car.

fourth (that of *doctrine*) not at all better than our own; which we are in the next passage of the article required to reform.

3. Wherein if hereafter we shall find any thing (as, upon farther understanding thereof, it is not impossible we may) that may seem to us savouring of *popery, superstition, heresy,* or *schism,* or *contrary to sound doctrine,* or *the power of godliness*; we shall be bound by the next article to endeavour the extirpation, after we have bound ourselves by this first article to the preservation thereof.
4. Wherein we already find some things (to our thinking) so far tending towards *superstition** and *schism*†, that it seemeth to us more reasonable that we should call upon them to reform the same, than that they should call upon us to preserve it.

Secondly, we are not satisfied in the next branch, concerning the reformation of religion in our own kingdom, in *doctrine, worship, discipline,* and *government*; how we can swear to endeavour the same, (which without making a change therein cannot be done,)

1. Without *manifest scandal to the Papist and Separatist,*

1. By yielding the cause, which our godly Bishops and Martyrs, and all our learned Divines ever since the Reformation, have both by their writings and sufferings maintained; who have justified, against them both, the religion established in the Church of England to be agreeable to the word of God.

* Viz. in accounting Bishops antichristian, and indifferent ceremonies unlawful.

† Viz. in making their discipline and government a mark of the true church, and the setting up thereof the erecting the throne of Christ.

2. By justifying the Papists in the reproaches and scorn by them cast upon our religion, whose usual objection it hath been, and is, that we know not what our religion is; that since we left them, we cannot tell where to stay: and that our religion is * *a Parliamentary religion.*
3. By a tacit acknowledgment that there is something both in the doctrine and worship, whereunto their conformity hath been required, not agreeable to the word of God, and consequently justifying them both, the one in his recusancy, the other in his separation.
4. By an implied confession, that the laws formerly made against Papists in this kingdom, and all punishments by virtue thereof inflicted upon them, were unjust; in punishing them for refusing to join with us in that form of worship, which ourselves (as well as they) do not approve of.

2. Without *manifest wrong unto ourselves*, our consciences, reputation, and estates, in bearing false witness against ourselves, and sundry other ways: by swearing to endeavour to reform that, as corrupt and vicious.

1. Which we have formerly by our personal subscriptions approved, as agreeable to God's Word; and have not been since either condemned by our own hearts for so doing, or convinced in our judgments by any of our brethren that therein we did amiss.
2. Which in our consciences we are persuaded not to be in any of the four specified particulars, (as it standeth by law established,) much less in the whole four, against the word of God.
3. Which we verily believe (and as we think,

* "Let us not be blamed, if we call it Parliament religion, Parliament gospel, Parliament faith." Harding, Confut. of Apology, part vi. chap. 2.

upon good grounds) to be in sundry respects much better, and more agreeable to the word of God, and the practice of the Catholic Church, than that which we should by the former words of this article swear to preserve.

4. Whereunto the* laws yet in force require of all such clerks as shall be admitted to any benefice, the signification of their hearty assent, to be attested openly in the time of divine service, before the whole congregation there present, within a limited time, and that under pain (upon default made) of the loss of every such benefice.

3. Without *manifest danger of perjury:* this branch of the article (to our best understandings) seeming directly contrary.

1. To our former solemn protestation, which we have bound ourselves neither for hope, fear, or other respect, ever to relinquish. Wherein the doctrine which we have vowed to maintain, by the name of the *true Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England,* we take to be the same, which now we are required to endeavour to reform and alter.

2. To the Oath of Supremacy, by us also taken, according to the laws of the realm, and the statutes of our University in that behalf. Wherein having first testified and declared in our consciences, that the *King's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this realm, we do after swear to our power to assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm.* One of the which privileges and pre-eminences, by an express statute so annexed, and that even, *in terminis,* in the self-same

* Stat. 13 Eliz. 12.

words in a manner with those used in the oath, is the whole power of spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for the correction and reformation of all manner of errors and abuses *in matters ecclesiastical:* as by the words * of the said statute more at large appeareth The oath affording the *proposition,* and the statute the *assumption,* we find no way how to avoid the *conclusion.*

SECTION IV.

Of the Second Article of the Covenant.

First, it cannot but affect us with some grief and amazement, to see that ancient form of church-government, which we heartily (and, as we hope, worthily) honour, as under which our religion was at first so orderly, without violence or tumult, and so happily reformed, and hath since so long flourished with truth and peace, to the honour and happiness of our own, and the envy and admiration of other nations, not only

1. Endeavoured to be extirpated, without any reason offered to our understandings, for which it should be thought necessary, or but so much as expedient, so to do. But also
2. Ranked with *popery, superstition, heresy,*

* "Such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any, &c. for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm." An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction, &c. 1 Eliz. 1.

schism, and *profaneness;* which we unfeignedly profess ourselves to detest as much as any others whatsoever.

3. And that with some intimation also, as if that government were some way or other so *contrary to sound doctrine, or the power of godliness*, that whosoever should not endeavour the extirpation thereof must of necessity *partake in other men's sins*, which we cannot yet be persuaded to believe.

4. And we desire it may be considered, in case a covenant of like form should be tendered to the citizens of London, wherein they should be required to swear, they would sincerely, really, and constantly, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of *treason, the city government*, (by a Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common Council, and other officers depending thereon,) *murder, adultery, theft, cozenage, and whatsoever shall be*—&c. *lest they should partake in other men's sins;* whether such a tendry could be looked upon by any citizen, that had the least spirit of freedom in him, as an act of justice, meekness, and reason.

Secondly, for episcopal government; we are not satisfied how we can, with a good conscience, swear to endeavour the extirpation thereof, 1. In *respect of the thing itself.* Concerning which government we think we have reason to believe,

1. That it is (if not *jure divino* in the strictest sense, that is to say, expressly commanded by God in his word, yet) of *apostolical institution;* that is to say, was established in the churches by the Apostles, according to the mind, and after the example, of their Master Jesus Christ, and that by virtue of their ordinary power and authority derived from him, as deputed by him governors of his Church.

2. Or at least, that *Episcopal Aristocracy* hath

a fairer pretension, and may lay a juster title and claim to a divine institution, than any of the other forms of church-government can do, all which yet do pretend thereunto, viz. that of the *Papal Monarchy*, that of the *Presbyterian Democracy*, and that of the *Independents* by particular congregations, or gathered churches.

2. But we are assured by the undoubted testimony of ancient records and later histories, that this form of government hath been continued with such an universal, uninterrupted, unquestioned succession in all the churches of God, and in all kingdoms that have been called Christian throughout the whole world for fifteen hundred years together, that there never was, in all that time, any considerable opposition made there against. That of Arius was the greatest, wherein yet there was little of consideration, beside these two things: that it grew at the first but out of discontent; and gained him at the last but the reputation of an heretic. From which antiquity and continuance we have just cause to fear, that to endeavour the extirpation thereof,

1. Would give such advantage to the Papists, who usually object against us, and our religion, the contempt of antiquity, and the love of novelty, that we should not be able to wipe off the aspersion.
2. Would so diminish the just authority due to the consentient judgment and practice of the Universal Church, (the best interpreter of Scripture in things not clearly expressed, for *Lex currit cum praxi,*) that without it we should be at a loss in sundry points both of *faith* and *manners,* at this day firmly believed and securely practised by us; when by the Socinians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, we should be called upon for our proofs: as namely, sundry orthodoxal explications concerning the Trinity and Co-equality of the Persons in the Godhead,

against the Arians and other heretics; the number, use, and efficacy of Sacraments; the baptizing of infants; national churches; the observation of the Lord's day; and even the Canon of Scripture itself.

Thirdly, *In respect of ourselves;* we are not satisfied how it can stand with the principles of *justice, ingenuity,* and *humanity,* to require the extirpation of episcopal government, (unless it had been first clearly demonstrated to be unlawful,) to be sincerely and really endeavoured by us,

1. Who have all of us, who have taken any degree, by subscribing the XXXIX Articles, testified our approbation of that government: one of those Articles* affirming the very book containing the form of their *Consecration* to contain in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.
2. Who have most of us (viz. as many as have entered into the ministry) received orders from their hands, whom we should very ill requite for laying their hands upon us, if we should now lay to our hands to root them up, and cannot tell for what.
3. Who have sundry of us, since the beginning of this Parliament, subscribed our names to petitions exhibited, or intended to be exhibited, to that High Court, for the continuance of that government: which as we then did sincerely and really, so we should with like sincerity and reality, still (not having met with any thing since to shew us our error) be ready to do the same again, if we had the same hopes we then had of the reception of such petitions.
4. Who hold some of us our livelihood, either in whole or part, by those titles of *Deans, Deans and Chapters,* &c. mentioned in the articles;

* Art. XXXVI.

being members of some collegiate or cathedral churches. And our memories will not readily serve us with any example in this kind since the world began; wherein any state or profession of men, though convicted (as we are not) of a crime that might deserve deprivation, were required to bind themselves by oath, *sincerely and really to endeavour* the rooting out of that, (in itself not unlawful,) together wherewith they must also root out themselves, their estates, and livelihoods.

5. Especially it being usual in most of the said churches, that such persons as are admitted members thereof, have a personal oath administered unto them, to maintain the honour, immunities, liberties, and profits of the same; and whilst they live to seek the good, and not to do any thing to the hurt, hindrance, or prejudice thereof; or in other words to the like effect.

Fourthly, *In respect of the Church of England;* we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the extirpation of the established government, no necessity or just cause for so doing, either offering itself, or being offered to our understandings.

1. Since all change of government unavoidably bringeth with it, besides those that are present and evident, sundry other inconveniences, which no wit of man can possibly foresee to provide against, till late experience discover them; we cannot be sure that the evils which may ensue upon the change of this government, (which hath been of so long continuance in this kingdom, is so deeply rooted in the laws thereof, and hath so near a conjunction with, and so strong an influence upon, the civil state and government, as that the change thereof must infer the necessity of a great alteration to be made in the other also,) may not be greater than the supposed evils, whatsoever they are, which

by this change are sought to be remedied. For there are not yet any come to our knowledge of that desperate nature, as not to be capable of other remedy, than the utter extirpation of the whole government itself.

2. Whereas the House of Commons * have remonstrated, that it was far from their purpose or desire to *abolish the church-government,* but rather that *all the members of the Church of England should be regulated by such rules of order and discipline, as are established by Parliament;* and that it was malignancy *to infuse into the people,* that they had any other meaning; we are loth, by consenting to the second article, to become guilty of such *infusion,* as may bring us within the compass and danger of the fourth article of this Covenant.

3. Since it hath been declared by sundry † Acts of Parliament, that *the holy Church of England was founded in the state of Prelacy within the realm of England;* we dare not, by endeavouring the extirpation of Prelacy, strike at the very foundation, and thereby (as much as in us lieth) co-operate towards the ruin of this famous Church, which in all conscience and duty we are bound with our utmost lawful power to uphold.

* "— give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings. They infuse into the people that we mean to abolish all church government." Remonst. 15 Dec. 1641. Exact. Collect. p. 19. "The Lords and Commons do declare, that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing in the one or in the other, but what shall be evil, and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome." Declar. 9 Apr. 1642. Exact. Coll. p. 135.

† Statute of Carlisle, 25 Ed. I. recited 25 Ed. III.

Lastly, *In respect of our obligations to his Majesty* by our duty and oaths; we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the extirpation of the church-government by law established, without forfeiture of those obligations.

1. Having in the oath of Supremacy acknowledged the King to be *the only supreme Governor in all ecclesiastical causes, and over all ecclesiastical persons;* and having bound ourselves both in that oath, and by our Protestation, *to maintain the King's honour, estate, jurisdictions,* and all manner of rights: it is clear to our understandings, that we cannot without disloyalty and injury to him, and double perjury to ourselves, take upon us, without his consent, to make any alteration in the ecclesiastical laws or government, much less to endeavour the extirpation thereof; unless the imposers of this Covenant had a power and meaning, (which they have openly disclaimed *) to absolve us of that obedience, which under God we owe unto his Majesty, whom they know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law.
2. We cannot sincerely and really endeavour the extirpation of this government, without a sincere desire and real endeavour, that his Majesty would grant his royal assent to such extirpation. Which we are so far from desiring and endeavouring, that we hold it our bounden duty by our daily prayers to beg at the hands of Almighty God, that he would not for our sins suffer the King to do an act so prejudicial to his

* "They infuse into the people, that we mean—to leave every man to his own fancy—absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom we know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law, as well as with the temporal." Exact. Collect. ubi supra. p. 19.

honour and conscience, as to consent to the rooting out of that estate, which by so many branches of his *Coronation Oath* *, he hath in such a solemn manner sworn, by the assistance of God to his power to maintain and preserve.

3. By the laws of this land, † the *Collation* of *Bishoprics*, and ‡ *Deaneries*; the § *fruits* and *profits* of their lands and revenues during their vacancies; the ‖ *first fruits and yearly tenths* out of all ecclesiastical promotions; and sundry other privileges, profits, and emoluments, arising out of the state ecclesiastical, are established in the Crown, and are a considerable part of the revenues thereof; which by the extirpation of Prelacy, as it is in the article expounded, or by subsequent practice evidenced, will be severed and cut off from the Crown, to the great prejudice and damage thereof. Whereunto as we ought not in common reason, and in order to our allegiance as subjects, yield our consent; so having sworn expressly *to maintain the King's honour and estate*, and to our power to assist and defend all jurisdictions, &c. belonging to his Highness, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of the realm, we cannot, without manifest perjury, (as we conceive,) consent thereunto.

* That he will "grant, keep, and confirm the laws, customs, and franchises, granted to the Clergy by the glorious King S. Edward: and that he will grant and preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice: and that he will protect and defend them, as every good King in his kingdom ought to be protector and defender of the Bishops, and the Churches under their government." Vide Exact. Coll. p. 290, 291.

† See Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. 20. and 1 Ed. VI. 2.

‡ See Stat. 39 Eliz. 8.

§ Stat. 14 Ed. III. 4 and 5. and 17 Ed. III. 14.

‖ Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. 3. and 1 Eliz. 4.

4. The government of this realm being confessedly an *empire*, or *monarchy* *, and that of a most excellent temper and constitution, we understand not how it can become us to desire or endeavour the extirpation of that government in the Church, which we conceive to be incomparably of all other the most agreeable, and no way prejudicial to the state of so well a constituted monarchy: insomuch as King James would often say, what his long experience had taught him, *no Bishop, no King*. Which aphorism, though we find in sundry pamphlets of late years to have been exploded with much confidence and scorn, yet we must profess to have met with very little in the proceedings of the late times, to weaken our belief of it. And we hope we shall be the less blamed for our unwillingness to have any actual concurrence in the extirpating of episcopal government; seeing of such extirpation there is no other use imaginable, but either the alienation of their revenues and inheritances, (which how it can be severed from *sacrilege* and *injustice*, we leave others to find out,) or to make way for the introducing of some other form of church-government: which, whatsoever it shall be, will (as we think) prove either destructive of, and inconsistent with, monarchical government, or at leastwise more prejudicial to the peaceable, orderly, and effectual exercise thereof, than a well-regulated Episcopacy can possibly be.

* "— Supremam potestatem et merum imperium apud nos habet Rex." Cambd. "Whereas by sundry divers old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme Head and King, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial Crown of the same." Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. 12. See also 1 Eliz. 3.

SECTION V.

Of the other Parts of the Covenant.

HAVING insisted the more upon the two first articles, that concern Religion and the Church, and wherein ourselves have a more proper concernment; we shall need to insist the less upon those that follow, contenting ourselves with a few (the most obvious) of those many great, and (as we conceive) just exceptions that lie there against.

1. In the third article, we are not satisfied that our endeavour to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority is so limited, as there it is, by that addition, *In the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom.* Forasmuch as,

1. No such limitation of our duty in that behalf is to be found, either in the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, (which no Papist would refuse to take with such limitation,) nor in the Protestation, nor in the Word of God.
2. Our endeavour to preserve the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, is required to be sworn of us in the same article, without the like or any other limitation added thereunto.
3. Such limitation leaveth the duty of the subject at so much looseness, and the safety of the King at so great uncertainty, that whensoever the people shall have a mind to withdraw their obedience, they cannot want a pretence from the same for so doing.
4. After we should, by the very last thing we did, (viz. swearing with such a limitation,) have made ourselves guilty of an actual and real diminution (as we conceive) of his Majesty's just power and greatness; the obtestation would

seem very unreasonable (at the least) with the same breath to call the world to bear witness with our consciences, that we had no thoughts or intentions to diminish the same.

5. The swearing with such a limitation is a testimony of the subject's loyalty (to our seeming) of a very strange nature; which, the principles of their several religions salved, the conscience of a most resolute Papist or Sectary may securely swallow, and the conscience of a good Protestant cannot but strain at.

2. In the fourth article,

1. We desire it may be considered, whether the imposing of the Covenant in this article do not lay a necessity upon the son, of accusing his own father, and pursuing him to destruction, in case he should be an incendiary, malignant, or other evil instrument, such as in the article is described. A course which we conceive to be contrary to religion, nature, and humanity.

2. Whether the swearing according to this article doth not rather open a ready way to children that are sick of the father, husbands that are weary of their wives, &c. by appealing such as stand between them and their desires, of malignancy, the better to effectuate their unlawful intentions and designs.

3. Ourselves having solemnly protested to maintain the liberty of the subject, and the House of Commons having publicly declared against the exercise of an arbitrary power, with order that their said Declaration should be printed and published in all the parish-churches and chapels of the kingdom, there to stand and remain as a testimony of the clearness of their intentions; whether the subjecting of ourselves and brethren by oath unto such punishments, as shall be inflicted upon us, (without law or merit,) at the sole pleasure of such uncertain judges as

shall be, upon any particular occasion, *deputed for that effect*, of what mean quality or abilities soever they be, even to the taking away of our lives, *if they shall think it convenient so to do*, though the degree of our offences shall not require or deserve the same; be not the betraying of our liberty in the lowest, and the setting up of an arbitrary power in the highest degree that can be imagined.

3. The substance of the fifth article being the settling and continuance of a firm peace and union between the three kingdoms, since it is our bounden duty to desire, and according to our several places and interests by all lawful means to endeavour the same; we should make no scruple at all to enter into a covenant to that purpose, were it not

1. That we do not see, nor therefore can acknowledge *the happiness of such a blessed peace between the* three *kingdoms*, (for we hope *Ireland* is not forgotten,) as in the article is mentioned, so long as *Ireland* is at war within itself, an both the other kingdoms engaged in that war.

2. That since no peace can be firm and well-grounded, that is not bottomed upon justice, the most proper and adequate act whereof is, *jus suum cuique*, to let every one have that which of right belongeth unto him; we cannot conceive how a firm and lasting peace can be established in these kingdoms, unless the respective authority, power, and liberty of *King*, *Parliament*, and *Subject*, as well every one as other, be preserved full and entire, according to the known laws and continued unquestioned customs of the several kingdoms in former times, and before the beginning of these sad distractions.

4. In the sixth article we are altogether unsatisfied.

1. The whole article being grounded upon a supposition, which hath not yet been evidenced

to us, viz. that *this cause* meaning thereby (or else we understand it not) the joining in this Covenant of mutual defence for the prosecution of the late war, was *the cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms*; and that it so much concerned *the glory of God, and the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King.*

2. If all the premises were so clear, that we durst yield our free assent thereunto, yet were they not sufficient to warrant to our consciences what in this article is required to be sworn of us; unless we were as clearly satisfied concerning the lawfulness of the means to be used for the supporting of such a cause. For since evil may not be done, that good may come thereof, we cannot yet be persuaded, that *the cause of religion, liberty, and peace*, may be supported, or *the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King*, sought to be advanced by such means, as (to our best understandings) are both improper for those ends, and destitute of all warrant from the laws, either of God, or of this realm.

5. Lastly, in the conclusion, our hearts tremble to think, that we should be required to pray, that *other Christian Churches might be encouraged by our example to join in the like association and covenant, to free themselves from the Antichristian yoke, &c.* Wherein

1. To omit that we do not know any *Antichristian yoke* under which we were held in these kingdoms, and from which we owe to this either war or Covenant our freedom; (unless by the Antichristian yoke be meant episcopal government, which we hope no man that pretendeth to truth and charity will affirm:

2. We do not yet see in the fruits of this association or Covenant among ourselves any thing so lovely, as to invite us to desire (much less to

pray) that other Christian Churches should follow our example herein.

3. To pray to the purpose in the conclusion of the Covenant expressed, seemeth to us all one in effect as to beseech Almighty God, the God of love and peace,
   1. To take all love and peace out of the hearts of Christians, and to set the whole Christian world in a combustion.
   2. To render the reformed Religion, and all Protestants, odious to all the world.
   3. To provoke the Princes of Europe to use more severity towards those of the reformed Religion; if not (for their own security) to root them quite out of their several dominions.
4. The tyranny and yoke of Antichrist, if laid upon the necks of subjects by their lawful Sovereigns, is to be thrown off by *Christian boldness* in confessing the truth, and *patient suffering* for it; not by taking up arms, or violent resisting of the higher powers.

SECTION VI.

Some Considerations concerning the Meaning of the Covenant.

Our aforesaid scruples are much strengthened by these ensuing considerations.

First, That whereas no oath, which is contradictory to itself, can be taken without perjury; because the one part of every contradiction must needs be false: this Covenant either indeed containeth, or at leastwise (which to the point of conscience is not much less effectual) seemeth to us to contain, sundry contradictions; as namely, amongst others, these.

1. To preserve as it is, without change, and yet

to reform and alter, and not to preserve *one and the same reformed Religion.*

2. Absolutely and without exception *to preserve;* and yet upon supposition *to extirpate* the self-same thing, *viz.* the present religion of the Church of Scotland.
3. To reform church-government established in England and Ireland, *according to the Word of God;* and yet to extirpate that government, which we are persuaded to be according thereunto, for the introducing of another, whereof we are not so persuaded,
4. To endeavour *really the extirpation of heresies, schisms, and profaneness:* and yet withal to extirpate that government in the Church, the want of the due exercise whereof we conceive to have been one chief cause of the growth of the said evils; and do believe the restoring and continuance thereof would be the most proper and effectual remedy.
5. *To preserve with our estates and lives the liberties of the kingdom;* that is (as in the Protestation is explained) of the subject; and yet contrary to these liberties, to submit to the imposition of this *Covenant,* and of the *Negative Oath,* not yet established by law; and to put our lives and estates under the arbitrary power of such as may take away both from us when they please, not only without, but even against law, *if they shall judge it convenient so to do.*

Secondly, we find in the Covenant sundry expressions of dark or doubtful construction, whereunto we cannot swear in judgment till their sense be cleared and agreed upon. As, Who are the *common enemies?* and which be *the best reformed Churches?* mentioned in the first article. Who (in the fourth article) ars to be accounted *Malignants?* How far that phrase of *hindering reformation* may be extended? What is meant by *the supreme judicatory of both the kingdoms?* and sundry other.

Thirdly, By the use that hath been made of this Covenant, (sometimes to purposes of dangerous consequence,) we are brought into some fears and jealousies, lest by taking the same we should cast ourselves into more snares than we are yet aware of. For in the first article,

1. Whereas we are *to endeavour the reformation of religion in this kingdom in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches:*
   1. The reformation in worship (whereby we could not suppose any more was intended, according to their former * Declaration, than a review of the Service Book, that the translations might be in some places amended, some alterations made in the Offices and Rubrics; or at most some of the ceremonies laid aside for the reasons of expediency and condescension) hath produced an utter abolition of the whole form established; without substituting any other certain form in the room thereof.
   2. The reformation in point of discipline and government intended (so far as by the overtures hitherto made we are able to judge) is such, as we conceive not to be *according to the Word of God*, nor (for any thing we know) according to the example of any church that ever was in the world (best or worst) since the creation.
2. In the second article, our grief and fears had been less, if we could have observed *the extirpation of popery, heresy, schism, and profane-*

* "The Lords and Commons do declare, That they intend a due and necessary reformation of the Liturgy of the Church; and take away nothing therein but what shall be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome." Dec, 9 Apr, 1642, Exact, Col. p. 135.

ness, to have been as really intended, and set on with as much speed and animosity, as the extirpation of *prelacy*, and that which some call *superstition*. But when we see, under the notions of rooting out prelacy and superstition, so much quickness used to fetch in the revenues of the Church, and the sacred utensils, (no otherwise guilty of superstition, for aught we know, than that they are worth something;) and on the other side, so little yet done toward the extirpation of heresy, schism, and profaneness, as things of less temporal advantage; we cannot dissemble our suspicion, that the designers of this Covenant might have something else before their eyes, besides what in the beginning of the introduction is expressed; and that there is something meant in this article that looketh so like sacrilege, that we are afraid to venture thereon.

3. In the third article,

1. Although we should not otherwise have apprehended any matter of danger or moment in the ordering of the particulars in the article mentioned; yet since Mr. Chaloner in his Speech, and others have made advantage thereof to infer from that very order, that the defence of the King's person and authority ought to be with subordination to the preservation of the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdom, which are* *in the first place*, and before it, to be endeavoured; we hope we shall be excused, if we dare not take the Covenant in this sense; especially, considering that if the argument be of any force, it will bind us at least as strongly to en-

* "From whence it is most evident, that the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and liberties of the kingdom, are in the first place to be preserved. Answer to Scottish Papers, 18, Nov. 1646, p. 21.

deavour the maintenance of *the King's person, honour, and estate* in the first place, and the rest but subordinately thereunto, because they are so ordered in the Protestation: and then, that Protestation having the advantage of preceding, it will bind us more strongly, as being the first obligation.

2. Whereas some have been the rather induced to take the Covenant in this particular, by being told, that that limitation, *in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms,* was not to be understood exclusively: yet when we find that the house of Commons, in their answer to the Scottish papers, do † often press that limitation, as without which the endeavouring to preserve the King's Majesty's person and authority ought not to be mentioned; it cannot but deter us from taking the Covenant in this particular so understood.

3. Especially being told in a late pamphlet, that the King, not having preserved the liberties of the kingdom, &c. as of duty he ought, is thereby become a *tyrant*, and so ceaseth to be a king, and consequently that his subjects cease to be subjects, and owe him no longer subjection. Which assertion since we heartily detest, as false and scandalous in the supposition, and in the inference seditious and devilish, we dare not, by subscribing this article, seem to give the least countenance thereunto.

4. But it striketh us with horror to think what use hath been made of this fourth article, concerning the punishment of Malignants, &c. as

† "We observe you mention the defence of the King twice from the Covenant, yet in both places leave out *In the preservation and, &c.*p. 39 and 46; a main clause, without which the other part ought never to be mentioned." p. 56.

by others otherways, so especially by *the Corrector of a Speech without doors,* written in the defence of Mr. Chaloner's Speech; who is is so bold as to tell the Parliament, "That they are bound by their Covenant (for the bringing of evil instruments to condign punishment) to destroy the King and his posterity; and that they cannot justify the taking away of Strafford's and Canterbury's lives for delinquency, whilst they suffer the chief delinquent to go unpunished."

SECTION VII.

Of the Salvo's.

THE Salvo's that we have usually met withal, for the avoiding of the aforesaid scruples, either concerning the whole Covenant, or some particulars therein of special importance, we find upon examination to be no way satisfactory to our consciences.

The first is, that we may take the Covenant *in our own sense:* but this (in a matter of this nature, viz. an imposed promissory oath, in the performance whereof others also are presumed to be concerned), seemeth to be,

1. Contrary *to the nature and end of an oath;* which, unless it be full of simplicity, cannot be sworn in truth and righteousness, nor serve to the ending of controversies and contradictions, which was the use for which it was instituted, Heb. vi.
2. Contrary *to the end of speech:* God having given us the use of speech for this end, that it might be the interpreter of the mind, it behoveth us, as in all other our dealings and contracts, so especially where there is the intervention of an oath, so to speak, as that they whom it concerneth may clearly understand our meaning by our words.

3. Contrary to *the end of the Covenant* itself; which being the confirmation of a firm union among the covenanters, that by taking thereof they might have mutual assurance of mutual assistance and defence; if one may be allowed to take it in one sense, and another in a contrary, the covenanters shall have no more assurance of mutual assistance each from other after the taking of the Covenant, than they had before.

4. Contrary to the *solemn profession* made by each covenanter, (in express terms in the conclusion thereof,) *in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts,* that he taketh it *with a true intention to perform the same, as he shall answer it at the great day.*

2. This will bring a scandal upon our religion,

1. That we practise that ourselves, which we condemn in the Papist, viz. swearing with Jesuitical equivocations and mental reservations.

2. That we take the glorious and dreadful name of God in vain, and play fast and lose with oaths: inasmuch as what we swear to-day in one sense, we may swear the direct contrary to-morrow in another. And

3. It will give strength to that charge which is laid to the Presbyterian party in special, both* by Jesuits and † Sectaries; that there is no faith to be given to Protestants, whatever they swear; because they may swear one thing in

* "Hæretici nec Deo nec hominibus servant fidem—Speciatim hoc addo, Calvinistas in hac re deteriores esse quam Lutheranos. Nam Calvinistæ nullam servant fidem: jura, perjura.—Lutherani moderatiories sunt." Becan. 5. Manual. Controv. 14. n. 4 et 6.

† "Invent oaths and covenants for the kingdom, dispense with them when he pleaseth, swear and forswear as the wind turneth, like a godly Presbyter." Arraign. of Persec. in Epist. Ded.

their words, and in their own sense mean another.

2. The second way is, to take the Covenant with these or the like general salvo's expressed; viz. *So far as lawfully I may; So far as it is agreeable to the Word of God, and the laws of the land; Saving all oaths by me formerly taken, &c.* But

1. We believe this mocking of God would be so far from freeing us from the guilt of perjury, that thereby we should rather contract a new guilt of most vile and abominable hypocrisy.
2. It seemeth all one unto us, (the thing being otherwise supposed unlawful,) as if we should swear to kill, steal, commit adultery, or forswear ourselves, so far as lawfully we may.
3. If this would satisfy the conscience, we might with a good conscience not only take the present Covenant, but even subscribe to the *Council of Trent* also, yea, and to the *Turkish Alcoran;* and swear to maintain and defend either of them, viz. so far as lawfully we may, or as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Thirdly, for the second article in particular, in the branch concerning the extirpation of church-government, we are told that it is to be understood of the whole government taken collectively, and in *sensu composito,* so as if we do endeavour but the taking away of *Apparitors* only, or of any other one kind of inferior officers belonging to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, we shall have sufficiently discharged our whole promise in that particular, without any prejudice done to Episcopacy. But

1. Neither the composers of the Covenant by their words, nor the imposers of it by their actions, have given us the least signification that they meant no more.
2. Yea rather, if we may judge either by the cause or the effects, we may well think there was a meaning to extirpate the whole govern-

ment, and every part thereof, in the article expressed. For

1. The Covevant being (as we have no cause to doubt) framed at the instance of the Scots, and for the easier procuring of their assistance in the late war, was therefore in all reason so to be framed and understood as to give them satisfaction; and (considering what themselves have* declared against Episcopacy,) we have little reason to believe the taking away Apparitors, or any thing less than the rooting out of Episcopacy itself, would have satisfied them.
2. The proceedings also since the entering of this Covenant, in endeavouring *by ordinance of Parliament* to take away the name, power, and revenues of Bishops, do sadly give us to understand what was their meaning therein.

Fourthly, As to the scruples that arise from the sovereignty of the King, and the duty of allegiance as subjects, we find two several ways of answering, but little satisfaction in either.

1. The former, by saying (which seemeth to us a piece of unreasonable and strange divinity) that *protection* and *subjection* standing in relation either to other, the King being now disabled to give us protection, we are thereby freed from our bond of subjection. Whereas
   1. The subject's obligation *(jus subjectionis)* doth not spring from, nor relate unto, the

* "By the Covenant, both Houses of Parliament, and many thousands of other his Majesty's subjects of England and Ireland' stand bound, as well as we, to hinder the setting up of church-government by Bishops in the kingdom of Scotland: and that we, as well as they, stand bound to endeavour the extirpation thereof in England and Ireland." Scots' Declaration to the States of the United Provinces, 5 Aug. 1645, recited in answer to the Scot's Papers, p. 23.

actual exercise of kingly protection, but from and unto the Prince's obligation to protect *(jus protectionis)*. Which obligation lying upon him as a duty which he is bound in conscience to perform, when it is in his power so to do; the relative obligation thereunto lieth upon us as a duty, which we are bound in concience to perform, when it is in our power so to do. His inability therefore to perform his duty doth not discharge us from the necessity of performing ours, so long as we are able to do it.

2. If the King should not protect us, but neglect his part, though having power and ability to perform it, his voluntary neglect ought not to free us from the faithful performance of what is to be done on our part. How much less then ought we to think ourselves disobliged from our subjection, when the *non-protection* on his part is not from the want of will, but of power!

2. The latter, (wherein yet some have triumphed,) by saying, that the Parliament being the supreme judicatory of the kingdom, the King, *wheresoever in person*, is ever present *there in his power*, as in all other courts of justice; and that therefore whatsoever is done by them, is not done without the King, but by him. But craving pardon first, if in things without our proper sphere we happen to speak unproperly or amiss, we must next crave leave to be still of the same mind we were, till it shall be made evident to our understandings, that the King is there *in his power*, as it is evident to our senses, that he is not there *in his person:* which, so far as our natural reason and small experience will serve us to judge, all that hath been said to that purpose can never do.

For, first, to the point of presence:

1. We have been brought up in a belief, that for

the making of laws the actual *royal assent** was simply necessary, and not only a virtual assent supposed to be included in the votes of the two Houses: otherwise, what use can be made of his negative voice? or what need to † *desire his royal assent* to that which may be done as well without it?

2. The Statute ‡ providing that *the King's assent to any Bill signified under his Great Seal* shall be to all intents of law as valid and effectual, as if he were personally present, doth clearly import, that, as to the effect of making a law,

* The old forms of Acts of Parliament were, "The King willeth, provideth, ordaineth, establisheth, granteth, &c. by the assent of Parliament," &c. See Statutes till 1 Hen. IV. After that, "The King, of the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and at the special instance and request of the Commons of this realm, hath ordained," &c. See Statutes 1 Hen. IV. till 1 Hen. VII. A form of such petition of the Commons, see 1 Ric. III. 6. "Praying the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that where, &c. Please it therefore your Highness, by the advice and assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal in this your present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, to ordain," &c.

"No Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or Edict of law, although both of the Houses agree unanimously in it, till it hath the royal assent." Ancient Customs, p. 54.

"Assemblée de ceux troys estats est appellée un Act de Parliament: car sans touts troys n'est auscun Act de Parl." Finch Nomotech. fol. 21.

"We admit that no Acts of Parliament are complete, or formally binding, without the King's assent." H. P. Answer to David Jenkins, p. 6.

† "—Which if your Majesty shall be pleased to adorn with your Majesty's royal assent, (without which it can neither be complete and perfect, nor—." Stat. 1 Jac. I.

‡ Stat. 33 Hen. III. 21.

the King's power is not otherwise really present with the two Houses, than it appeareth either in his person or under his seal: any other *real presence* is to us a riddle, not much unlike to that of *Transubstantiation;* an imaginary thing, rather devised to serve turns, than believed by those that are content to make use of it.

3. Such presence of the King there, when it shall be made appear to us, either from the writs whereby the members of both Houses are called together, or by the standing laws of the land, or by the acknowledged judgment and continued practice of former and later ages, or by any express from the King himself, clearly declaring his mind to that purpose, we shall then, as becometh us, acknowledge the same, and willingly submit thereunto.

And as for the argument drawn from the *analogy* of other courts, wherein the King's power is always supposed to be virtually present, under submission we conceive it is of no consequence.

1. The arguments *a minore* and *a majore* are subject to many fallacies; and, unless there be a parity of reason in every requisite respect between the things compared, will not hold good. A petty constable (they say) may do something which a justice of peace cannot do: and the steward of a petty manor hath power to administer an oath, which (as we are told) the House of Commons itself hath no power to do.
2. That the High Court of Parliament is the supreme judicatory, we have been told it is by virtue of the King's right of presiding there, he being the *supreme Judge* * and the members of

* "Dominus Rex habet ordinariam jurisdictionem, dignitatem, et potestatem super omnes qui in regno suo sunt.——Ea quæ jurisdictionis sunt et pacis——ad nullum pertinent nisi ad coronam et dignitatem regiam, nec a

both Houses his council; which being so, the reason of difference is plain between that and other judicatories in sundry respects.

1. The Judges in other courts are deputed by him, and do all in his name, and by his authority; and therefore the presence of his power in those courts of ministerial jurisdiction is sufficient, his personal presence not necessary, neither hath he any personal vote therein at all. But in the High Court of Parliament, where the King himself is the supreme Judge, judging in his own name, and by his own authority, his power cannot be presumed to be really present, without either the actual presence of his person, or some virtual representation thereof signified under his Great Seal.

2. The Judges in inferior courts, because they are to act all in his name, and by his authority, do therefore take oaths of fidelity for the right exercising of judicature in their several places; sitting there, not by any proper interest of their own, but only in right of the King, whose Judges they are, and therefore they are called the King's Judges and his Ministers. But in the High Court of Parliament, the Lords and Commons sit there in council with the King as supreme Judge, for the good of the whole realm; and therefore they are not called the King's Judges, but the King's Council; and they have their several proper rights and interests peculiar and distinct both between themselves, and from that of the King's by reason whereof they become *distinct orders* *,

corona separari possunt." Bracton, cited by Stamford, lib. ii. cap. 2.

* For in our laws, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commonality are the three estates. "We your said most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects," (viz. the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons,) "represent-

or, as of late times they have been styled, (in this sense, we conceive,) *three distinct estates* *. Each of which being supposed to be the best conservators of their own proper interest, if the power of any one estate should be presumed to be virtually present in the other two, that estate must needs be inevitably liable to suffer in the proper interests thereof; which might quickly prove destructive to the whole kingdom, the safety and prosperity of the whole consisting in the conservation of the just rights and proper interests of the main parts, viz. the King, Lords, and Commons, inviolate and entire.

3. The Judges of other courts, forasmuch as their power is but ministerial, and merely judicial, are bounded by the present laws, and limited also by their own acts; so as they may neither swerve from the laws in giving judgment, nor reverse their own judgments after they are given. But the High Court of Parliament, having (by reason of the King's supreme power presiding therein) a power legislative as well as judicial, are not so limited by any earthly power, but that they may change and over-rule the laws and their own acts at their pleasure. The King's personal assent therefore is not needful in those other courts, which are bounded by those laws whereunto the King hath already given his personal assent; but unto any act of power beside, beyond, above, or against the laws already established, we have been informed, and it seems to us very agreeable to reason, that the King's personal assent should be absolutely ne-

ng your three estates of your realm of England." 1 Eliz. 3. "—the state of the Clergy being one of the greatest states of this realm." 8. Eliz. 1.

* See Finch supra ad lit. d.

cessary: forasmuch as every such act is the exercise of a legislative rather than of a judicial power; and no act of legislative power in any community (by consent of all nations) can be valid, unless it be confirmed by such person or persons as the sovereignty of that community resideth in. Which sovereignty, with us, so undoubtedly resideth in the person of the King, that his ordinary style runneth, *Our Sovereign Lord the King*:* and he is in the Oath of Supremacy expressly acknowledged to be *the supreme Governor within his realms.* And we leave it to the wisdom of others, to consider what misery and mischief might come to the kingdom, if the power of any of these *three estates* should be swallowed up by any one, or both the other, and if then, under the name of a judicial, there should be yet really exercised a legislative power.

4. Since all judicial power is radically and originally in the King, (who is for that cause styled by the laws *the fountain of justice* †,) and not

* "The Crown of England hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately to God in all things touching the regality of the said Crown—." 16 Ric. II. 5. "Omnis sub eo est, ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. Parem autem non habet Rex in regno suo, quia——Item nec multo fortius superiorem aut potentiorem habere debet, quia sic esset inferior suis subjectis." Bracton. conten. 1. rubr. 36. "—Cui αὐτοκρατορικὴν legibus ipsis legum vim imponendi potestatem Deus dedit." Finch Nomotech. in Epist. Dedic. to King James.

† "Fons justitiæ." Bracton. "By war to intend the alteration of the laws in any part of them, is to levy war against the King, and consequently treason by the Statute of 25 Ed. III.—because they are the King's laws. He is the fountain from whence, in their several channels, they are derived to the subject." Master Saint-John's Speech concerning the Earl of Strafford, p. 12.

in any other person or persons, but by derivation from him; it seemeth to us evident, that neither the Judges of inferior courts of ministerial justice, nor the Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament, may of right exercise any other power over the subjects of this realm, than such as by their respective patents and writs issued from the King, or by the known established laws of the land, formerly assented unto by the Kings of this realm, doth appear to have been from him derived unto them. Which laws, patents, and writs, being the exact boundary of their several powers, it hath not yet been made appear to our understandings, either from the laws of the realm, or from the tenor of those writs by which the Parliament is called, that the two Houses of Parliament have any power, without the King, to *order, command, or transact*; but with him to *treat, consult, and advise* * concerning the great affairs of the kingdom. In which respect they have sundry times, in their Declarations to his Majesty, called themselves by the name of his *Great Council.* And those laws and writs are, as we conceive, the proper topic, from which the just power of the honourable Houses can be convincingly deduced; and not such frail collections, as the wits of men may raise from seeming analogies and proportions.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Negative Oath.

We are not satisfied how we can submit to the taking of the *Negative Oath,*

* "—Et ibidem vobiscum colloquium habere, tractare—super dictis negotiis, tract. vestrumque consilium impensur.—" Writ to the Lords.

1. Without forfeiture of that *liberty*, which we have sworn and are bound to preserve. With which liberty we conceive it to be inconsistent, that any obligation should be laid upon the subject by an oath not established by Act of Parliament.
2. Without abjuring our *natural allegiance* *, and violating the *oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance* by us formerly taken. By all which being bound to our power to *assist the King*, we are by this *Negative Oath* required to swear from our heart, *not to assist him.*
3. Without *diminution of his Majesty's just power and greatness*, contrary to the third article of the Covenant, by acknowledging a power in the two Houses of Parliament, in opposition to the King's power. Whereas we profess ourselves unable to understand, how there can be any lawful power exercised within this realm, which is not subordinate to the power of the King.

SECTION IX.

Of the Ordinances concerning the Discipline and Directory.

FIRST, concerning them all together; we are not satisfied how we can submit to such Ordinances of the two Houses of Parliament, not having the *royal assent*

1. As are contrary to the established laws of this realm, contained in such Acts of Parliament as were made by the joint consent of King, Lords, and Commons.

* "Every subject by the duty of his allegiance is bounden to serve and assist his Prince and Sovereign Lord at all seasons, when need shall require." 11 Hen. VII. 18.

2. Nor so only, but also pretend by repeal to abrogate such Act or Acts. For, since *ejusdem est potestatis destruere, cujus est constituere,* it will not sink with us, that a lesser power can have a just right to cancel and annul the act of a greater.
3. Especially the * whole power of ordering all matters ecclesiastical being by the laws, in express words, *for ever annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm.* And upon what head that Crown ought to stand, none can be ignorant.

2. As to the particular Ordinances; those that concern *the Discipline* first:

1. If under that title be comprehended the *government* also, we cannot submit thereunto, without consenting to the eradication of a government of reverend antiquity in the Church: which (notwithstanding the several changes of religion within this realm) hath yet from time to time been continued and confirmed by the public laws and great charters of the kingdom: than which there cannot be a more ample testimony that it was ever held agreeable to the civil government and the subject's liberty: which also the successive Kings of this realm at their several coronations have solemnly sworn to preserve; and the continuance whereof, for sundry reasons before (upon the second article of the Covenant) specified, we heartily wish and desire.
2. But if the word *Discipline* be taken (as it is in the first article of the Covenant) as *contradistinguished unto the government,* there is something even in that also, wherein we are not fully satisfied; viz. the leaving of so much power in so many persons, and those, many of them, of mean quality, for the keeping back of thou-

* Stat. 1 Eliz. 1.

sands of well-meaning Christians from the benefit and comfort of the blessed Sacrament: an austerity, for which there appeareth not to us any probable warrant from the Word of God, but which seemeth rather repugnant, as to the general principles of Christian prudence and charity, so to the directions and practice of St. Paul * in particular; who in a Church abounding with sundry errors and corruptions both in faith and manners, (having first given order for the excommunicating of one only person, that by shameless continuance in a notorious sin had brought a foul scandal upon the Gospel,) sufficing himself then with a general proposal of the great danger of *unworthy communicating*, remitteth every other particular person to a *self-examination* †, without any order either to Ministers or Lay-Elders to exclude any from the holy Communion upon their examination.

3. As to the Ordinance concerning the *Directory* in particular; we cannot, without regret of conscience, (during our present judgment, and the continuance of the present laws,) consent to the taking away of *the Book of Common Prayer*,

1. Which by our subscriptions most of us have approved, with a solemn promise therewithal, in the public service to use the form prescribed therein, and no other.
2. Which, according to our said subscription and promise, and our bounden duty according to the Statute ‡ in that case provided, we have hitherto used in our churches, chapels, and other oratories, to the great benefit and comfort of our souls.
3. Which we verily believe not to contain any thing, which (with such favourable construction as of right ought to be allowed to all manner of writings) is not justly defensible: which hath

* 1 Cor. v. 1, &c. † 1 Cor. xi. 28, &c. ‡ 1 Eliz.

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4. Which is
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authority as any und
us; which doth so weigh with us,
freeth us from the necessity of giving in any particular exceptions against the Directory, or any thing therein contained; so it layeth an inevitable necessity upon us of continuing the form of Prayer therein enjoined, and of not admitting any Directory, or other form, to the prejudice thereof, till the said Act, shall by the like good and full authority, be repealed.

In which Statute there is not only an *express command* given to all Ministers for the using of the same, but there are also *sanctions of severe punishments* to be inflicted upon such of them as shall refuse so to do; or shall preach, declare, or speak any thing to the derogation or depraving of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof; with punishments also to be inflicted upon every other person whatsoever, (*the Lords of the Parliament* not excepted,) that shall in like manner declare or speak against the said Book; or shall by deed or threatening compel, or otherwise procure or maintain, any Minister to say open Prayer, or to minister any Sacrament in any other manner or form than is mentioned in the said Book; or shall interrupt or hinder any Minister in the use of the said forms, as by the words of the said Statute more at large may appear.

Which Statute hath also had such universal powerful influence into the succeeding times, that in all

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we clearly and freely represented our present judgment concerning the said Covenant Negative Oath, and Ordinances; which, upon better information in any particular, we shall be ready to rectify. Only we desire it may be con sidered, that if any one single scruple or reason in any the premises remain unsatisfied, (though we should receive full satisfaction in all the rest,) the conscience would also remain still unsatisfied. And in that case, it can neither be reasonable for them that cannot satisfy us to press us, nor lawful for us that cannot be satisfied to submit to the said Cove nant, Oath, and Ordinances.

QUINTIL.

Quis damnaverit eum, qui duabus potentissimis rebus defenditur, jure et mente?

ROM. XIV. 22.

Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth.

* Stat. 23 Eliz. 1; and 29 Eliz. 6; and 35 Eliz. 1 and 2; and 3 Jac. 4 and 5.

THE END.

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